

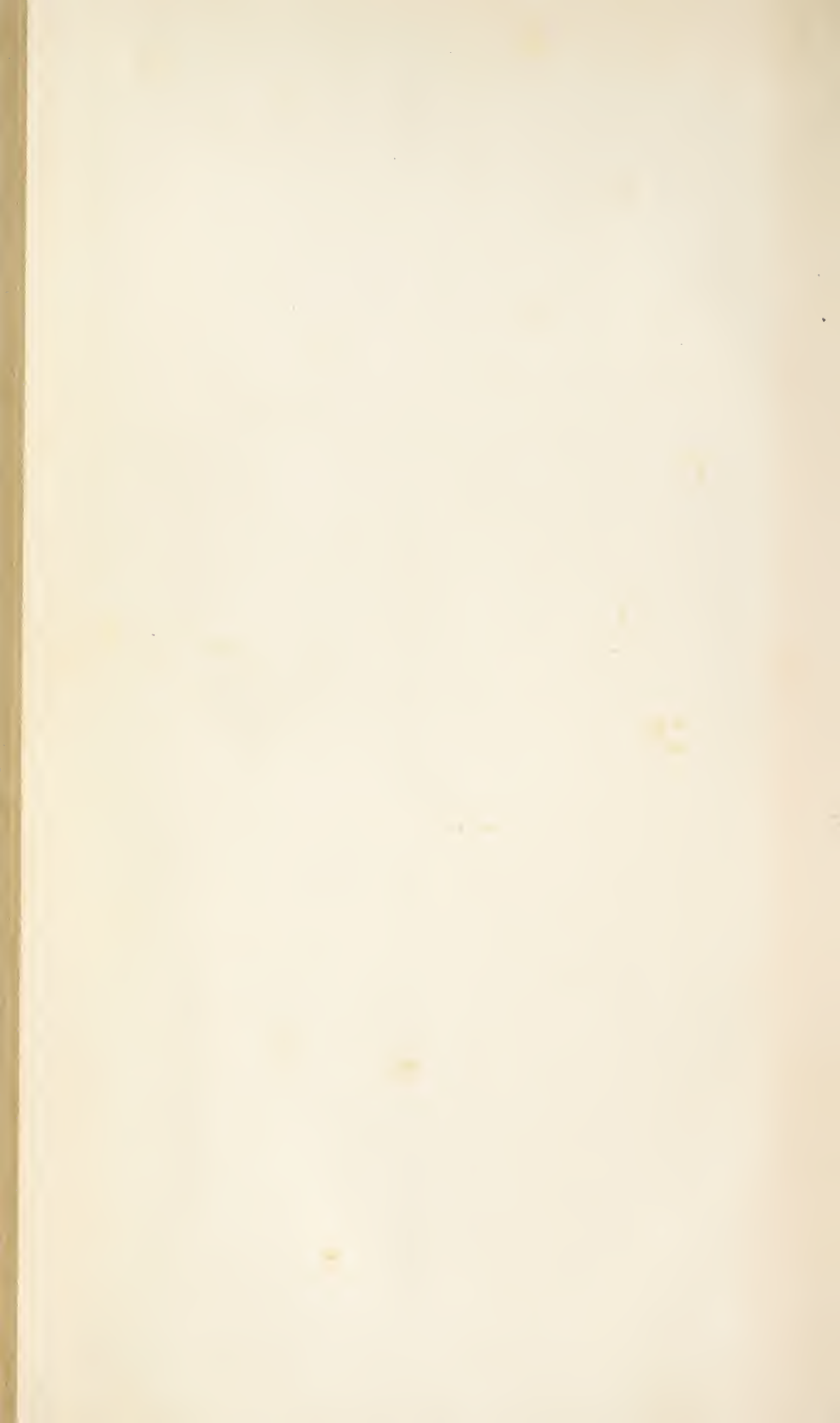
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HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

OF THE
PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH

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BENJAMIN TREDWELL ONDERDONK, FOURTH BISHOP OF NEW YORK

By E. Clowes Chorley

JOHAN HENRY HOBART, third Bishop of New York, died while on a visitation at Auburn on September 12, 1830. Three weeks later the diocesan convention held its regular annual meeting in Trinity Church, New York City. Friday evening was appointed for the filling of the vacancy in the episcopate, at which time the "convention engaged in singing the last three verses of the 122nd Psalm; after which some minutes were spent in secret prayer, and then some appropriate collects and prayers were read from the Liturgy by the President", the Rev. Dr. Thomas Lyell, rector of Christ Church.¹

The record of the election runs as follows: "The tellers having counted the ballots, reported that the Rev. Benjamin T. Onderdonk, D. D., had a majority of the votes of each order". Although not recorded in the Journal it was known that the Rev. Henry Anthon, D. D., rector of St. Stephen's Church received six votes, and a few more were cast for the Rev. Dr. Jonathan Mayhew Wainwright, rector of Grace Church.² The record goes on to say:

"Whereupon, it was on motion, unanimously Resolved, That the Rev. Benjamin T. Onderdonk, D. D., be, and he is hereby, declared duly elected Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the State of New York".

It was further determined "That public thanksgiving to Almighty God, for the happy termination of this important business, be rendered by this Convention, at 9 O'clock tomorrow morning".³

The committee appointed to notify the bishop-elect reported that:

¹*Convention Journal, 1830, p 75.*

²*Later Provisional Bishop of New York.*

³*Convention Journal, 1830, p 75.*

"Dr. Onderdonk expressed his sensibility to the confidence manifested in him, and the honor conferred by the Convention; and his determination, relying on the kind assistance and co-operation of his brethren, and the directing and supporting influences of divine grace, to accept the office"⁴

He was consecrated in St. John's Chapel, in the city of New York, on Friday, November 26, 1830. The consecrators were the venerable Bishop White; Thomas Church Brownell, Bishop of Connecticut, and his brother, Henry Ustick Onderdonk, Assistant Bishop of Pennsylvania. Morning Prayer was said by the Rev. Dr. Lyell, and the lessons were read by the Rev. Dr. James Milnor, rector of St. George's. Bishop Brownell preached the sermon from Colossians, iv, 17: "Take heed to the ministry which thou hast received in the Lord, that thou fulfil it". The bishop-elect was presented by his brother and Bishop Brownell; his attending presbyters were Dr. Wainwright and William Richmond, rector of St. Michael's. The certificate of election was read by the Rev. Levi S. Ives⁵ and the consents of the Bishops and Standing Committees by the Rev. Dr. William Berrian, rector of Trinity Church, and the Rev. Dr. George Upfold.⁶ Immediately after the consecration Bishop White made a brief address in the course of which he revealed the fact that Bishop Hobart had expressed to him the hope that Dr. Onderdonk might be chosen as his successor.⁷

In formally reporting his consecration to the diocesan convention, at the next meeting, Bishop Onderdonk said:

"God grant that the thoughts inspired by the solemnities of that day may never be eradicated from my mind. And let me my brethren, of the clergy and laity, have your faithful, fervent prayers for that grace which alone can give the guidance and aid necessary for the discharge of the momentous trusts to which I was then set apart".⁸

Thus, under the happiest auspices, began an episcopate destined to come to so sudden and tragic an end.

Benjamin Tredwell was born in the City of New York on July 15, 1791, and was baptized in Trinity Church on August 19. He was a son of Dr. John and Deborah (Ustick) Onderdonk, his father being one of the leading physicians of the city; a devout churchman and a vestryman of Trinity Parish from 1801 to 1832. His older brother, Henry Ustick, who held a medical degree, was elected assistant bishop of Pennsylvania in 1827. At the age of fifteen Benjamin entered Columbia Col-

⁴*Convention Journal*, 1830, p 76.

⁵*Son-in-law of Bishop Hobart; later Bishop of N. Carolina.*

⁶*Later Bishop of Indiana.*

⁷*Dix. History of Trinity Parish, Vol. iv, p 130.*

⁸*Convention Journal*, 1831, p 15.

lege, of which he became a trustee in 1824. There being no theological seminaries at that time, he studied for the ministry in Bishop Hobart's Theological Society, and was ordered deacon by that bishop in St. Paul's Chapel on August 2, 1812, he being then twenty-two years of age. Under the direction of the bishop he officiated in Trinity Parish and in 1814 was appointed assistant minister serving in that capacity until 1835. The following year he was ordained priest by Bishop Hobart in Trinity Church, Newark, New Jersey.

He early won a prominent place in the diocese and in the Church at large. He succeeded Dr. Lyell as secretary of the diocesan convention, and was elected a member of the Standing Committee. In 1817 he served as secretary of the House of Bishops. From 1819 to 1829 he was a deputy to the General Convention, and for a time was secretary of the House of Deputies. When the General Theological Seminary was established in New York he became the Professor of the Nature, Ministry and Polity of the Church, serving without compensation.

In view of the grave charges subsequently brought against him it is significant to recall the esteem in which he was held by his clerical and lay contemporaries during his years as a presbyter and his active episcopate. He was easily the leading presbyter of the diocese; a recognized authority on canons and the Constitution; the trusted friend and adviser of Bishop Hobart, and respected alike for his ability and character.

As a parish priest he endeared himself to those entrusted to his pastoral care, especially to the poor and needy in Trinity Parish. Writing of those days the Rev. Dr. Berrian, rector of Trinity, said:

"I had been at that time in habits of the closest intimacy with him for thirty years. I became acquainted with him at College in early life, he was my fellow student in Divinity, and as soon as he was ordained, he was associated with me in the same parish, from opening manhood till he had considerably passed the period of middle age. From our common duties and our mutual regard, we were brought into constant intercourse with each other, so that all his infirmities and faults, as well as his virtues and graces, were laid open before me.

In his very youth he was grave, sedate and thoughtful to a degree which is seldom seen; correct in his principles; pure in heart, and unspotted in life. In his academic pursuits and in his preparation for the ministry, he was so unwearied in his diligence and so laudable in his ambition as to have distinguished himself greatly in both. And when at length he entered upon the exercise of his office, it was with such a devout temper of mind, and such a conscientious view of his duties, and such a fixed determination to discharge them as within the range of my observation, at least, has never been

surpassed. These duties, in the very outset of his course in this extensive Parish, were exceedingly heavy. But he never shrank from any labor, he never tired in his own work, nor hesitated in an emergency to help his brethren. He had at once the physical strength which enabled him to bear the utmost degree of labor, and the ready will to perform it with cheerfulness. But he was not only indefatigable in the performance of his public duties, but most assiduous and faithful as a pastor, going about continually doing good, and especially among the sick and needy, the afflicted and distressed.

The pastoral attention to the members of the Parish, was a duty to which I had always attached the greatest importance myself, and which, according to my ability, I had endeavored to discharge. I was constantly among the people, where he was held in the utmost respect and affection, and where, until several years after his entrance into the Episcopate, the breath of reproach had never reached him. They are witnesses with me how holily and unblamedly he behaved himself among us".⁹

At the time of Dr. Onderdonk's election as bishop in 1830 the diocese of New York embraced the entire State from Montauk Point to the far-flung Canadian border. It contained 140 clergy; 182 congregations, including 19 churches in the city, together with Trinity and its two chapels of St. Paul's and St. John's. At his first convention thirteen new parishes were admitted into union.

There being no provision for the support of the episcopate, the bishop perforce retained his position as an assistant minister of Trinity Parish, but the appointment of the Rev. W. R. Whittingham¹⁰ as special preacher set him comparatively free for parochial visitations. His first confirmation was in the chapel of the Brooklyn Navy Yard from whence he visited the Long Island parishes. Where there was no Episcopal church he records preaching in Methodist, Baptist and Presbyterian buildings; often in country schoolhouses, and on one occasion in "a large room in a public house". Pausing to consecrate St. Clement's Church in the city, which he described as "a beautifully neat and commodious edifice", he passed on to visit the parishes in Westchester, Putnam, Dutchess and Orange Counties, and the two churches then on Staten Island. Following the example of Bishop Hobart, he selected the summer months for his visitations to the distant parts of the State. There were no railroads and the long journeys had to be made by carriage, canal boats or stage coaches. In July he began at Albany and Troy and conducted the first services "peculiar to the episcopal office" at Plattsburgh where he consecrated Trinity Church. Attending the commencement at Geneva College, he describes it "as one

⁹*Berrian. Historical Sketch of Trinity Church, New York, pp 313-315.*

¹⁰*Later Bishop of Maryland.*

of the most respectable in our country, and peculiarly deserving the patronage and support of the members of our Church".¹¹ A wide sweep brought him to Syracuse, Rochester, Buffalo and Niagara. He recorded with peculiar gratification preaching through an interpreter to the congregation of Oneida Indians when prayers were read in their own tongue by the Rev. Solomon Davis, their missionary. This visitation, which began on July 10 and ended on September 12, witnessed 861 confirmations; the consecration of three churches; the institution of five rectors; many baptisms, sermons and celebrations of the holy communion. During the first year of his episcopate he reports spending about a third of the year in travelling over a great part of the State, and adds: "Nor can I refrain from recording my sensibility to the kind and hospitable manner in which I was everywhere greeted . . . but still more grateful is the duty of adverting to the state of spiritual prosperity, which, with few exceptions, happily distinguishes the churches of the diocese, so far as my knowledge of them extends".¹² In the same address he reported twenty candidates for holy orders and forty-nine missionary stations. The missionaries received from the diocese a stipend of one hundred and twenty-five dollars and depended upon their congregations to eke out a bare living. The diocesan Missionary Committee in referring to the

"State of religious excitement which prevails in many neighborhoods through our diocese, observed that under the Providence of God, the services of the Church are in our day the only safeguard against wild fanaticism, and unsound doctrine, so that the best interests of the community are essentially involved in the number and prosperity of the missions which your committee are enabled to maintain".¹³

One of the outstanding features of Bishop Onderdonk's episcopate was the beginning of missionary work within the confines of the city of New York. Coincident with the opening of the Erie Canal and subsequently, there was a very large increase of the working class population. The existing parishes made no provision for the spiritual welfare of such folk. They were the homes of the socially privileged and prided themselves upon their "respectability", as witness the parochial reports in the *Journal*. Pews were sold at public auction to the highest bidder, and when not sold, were rented. In his first convention address the bishop called attention "to the vast increase in this city of the number of those who are totally unable to provide themselves with

¹¹*Convention Journal*, 1831, p 21-22.

¹²*Ibid.*, p 27.

¹³*Ibid.*, p 35.

the ministrations of religion, including many of our own communion, and of our sister Churches of England and Ireland, and the immense numbers among us who are the proper objects of that highest of Christian charities, which cares for the souls of those who care not for their own".¹⁴

At the suggestion of the Missionary Association of Christ Church, a meeting was held on September 29, 1831, at which the New York Protestant Episcopal City Mission Society was organized. The bishop gave the plan his full approval and at his suggestion the diocesan convention determined that "so much of the Missionary concerns of this diocese as relates to the City of New York, be committed, until the further pleasure of this Convention, to the Protestant Episcopal City Mission Society of New York".¹⁵ In December, 1831, the Rev. Benjamin C. Cutler¹⁶ was appointed the first city missionary. His only two male communicants at the outset were two students of Columbia College, paid workers; the Sunday School had six enrolled pupils. Almost immediately, however, the opportunity offered to purchase an unused Reformed Dutch Church. With the aid of Trinity Parish and a few individuals, the property was bought and fitted for use as an Episcopal church. In reporting his official acts to the convention of 1832 the bishop said:

"Saturday, November 19th. I enjoyed the rich satisfaction of consecrating the Mission Church of the Holy Evangelists, the first-fruits of the New York Protestant Episcopal City Mission Society, of which the organization was reported to the last meeting".¹⁷

He pointed out that young men and women, respectable and pious, but not wealthy, were moving into the city in large numbers and, for want of proper provision for their attendance in parish churches, were in danger of being lost to the Church. "That want", he added, "is now

¹⁴*Convention Journal*, 1831, p 33.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, p 55.

¹⁶Benjamin Clarke, son of Benjamin C. and Sarah (Mitchell) Cutler, was born at Jamaica Plain, Massachusetts, February 6, 1798, and baptized in Trinity Church, Boston, by his uncle, the Rev. Dr. Samuel Parker, later being confirmed by Bishop Griswold. After three years in business he entered Brown College, Providence, graduating in 1822. During his college days he served as a lay reader, and on September 14, 1822, he was ordered deacon by Bishop Griswold, and appointed minister in charge of Christ Church, Quincy, Mass., being advanced to the priesthood on March 16, 1825. He married Harriet, daughter of James Bancroft, of Boston. The climate of New England was too severe and after temporarily officiating in Virginia he accepted Bishop Onderdonk's offer of the City Mission work. In 1833 he became rector of St. Ann's, Brooklyn, and continued there until his death on February 10, 1863. (Gray. *Memoir of the Rev. Benjamin Cutler, D. D.*, New York: Randolph, 1865.)

¹⁷*Convention Journal*, 1832, p 4.

happily supplied. The Mission Church is opened to all without money and without price”.

Mr. Cutler reported a congregation of about 500 persons, “some of whom are from other Episcopal churches in the city, but the greater part are foreigners, English and Irish Protestants, and persons who are not in the habit of attending public worship in any of our churches”.¹⁸

This was only the beginning. In 1833 six adults, with two prayer books between them, and a few ragged children, assembled for worship on the feast of the Epiphany in a small room over an engine-house in the north-east part of the city. The services were transferred to a hall on the corner of Allen and Houston Streets. The City Mission Society adopted the work as its second station, and appointed the Rev. Lot Jones¹⁹ as the missionary. By 1834 the congregation had grown to 400 and the Sunday School to 300. The corner-stone of this mission church of the Epiphany, on the north side of Stanton Street, was laid by Bishop Richard Channing Moore, of Virginia, on August 26, 1833, and it was consecrated by Bishop Onderdonk on June 28, 1834.²⁰

In recording the consecration of this church Bishop Onderdonk took occasion to utter some plain truths to those in the Church who were content to be at ease in Zion. He said:

“Thousands still wander through our streets, to whom the Gospel,—its word and its Church—are as strange as if there were a broad wall of adamant between it and them. Our ordinary churches, so far from inviting, virtually exclude them. Let them then, indulge me, while I say that, easy as they may feel in the enjoyment of those spiritual privileges for which they liberally pay in their well furnished places of worship, there rests upon them a heavy burden of responsibility touching the poor against whom these places are virtually barred. The City Mission Society offers to be their almoner in remedying this crying evil. Can they act a truly Christian part, unless they bring the requisite portion of their worldly substance to the good work of sustaining this Society in its holy enterprises? They possess the means. No one well acquainted with the facts will deny this. As long then as this Society, as at present, but partially and inefficiently answers to the good end of its establishment, so long must guilt rest upon the churchmen of this

¹⁸*Convention Journal*, 1832, p 69.

¹⁹The Rev. Lot Jones was born at Brunswick, Maine, in 1797 and joined the Episcopal Church while at Bowdoin College. Ordained by Bishop Griswold, his earlier ministry was spent in the Eastern Diocese, and later at Christ Church, Macon, Georgia, and in Massachusetts. He was one of the Evangelical leaders in the Church, but valued apostolic order. On the incorporation of the Church of the Epiphany in 1845, he became rector and so continued until his death in 1865.

²⁰Russell. *A History of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the Epiphany, in the City of New York*, p 4.

city, proportioned, in individual cases, to individual ability to remedy the evil".²¹

Never before, in the entire history of the Church in New York, had the chief shepherd spoken so plainly to his flock; never before had the conscience of that Church been so rudely awakened to the responsibility of the privileged for the poor. It should be added that throughout his active episcopate Bishop Onderdonk was the chief counsellor, the steadfast friend and supporter of the Society. Truly, he fulfilled the promise he made at his consecration to "be merciful for Christ's sake to poor and needy people, and to all strangers destitute of help".

Although unsparing of himself, it became increasingly evident that a division of the diocese of New York was inevitable. The rapid development of the Church in the northern and western parts of the State called for episcopal supervision beyond the physical powers of one bishop who of necessity resided in New York.

Division, however, was difficult. Up to this time every diocese in the American Church was co-terminous with the State. A bishop was Bishop of the State. His official title was "Bishop of the State of . . ."; not, "Bishop of the Diocese", and on the part of many there was a reluctance to depart from a tradition which was established at the adoption of the Constitution in 1789. But, largely to meet the situation in New York, the Constitution was amended by the General Convention of 1838 so as to permit the division of a diocese within a State. Acting under this new provision boundaries were agreed upon and the diocese of Western New York was created in 1838 with 92 organized churches and congregations and 66 clergy entitled to seats in the convention. William H. De Lancey, a member of an old New York family, was elected as first bishop. This left the mother diocese, consisting of the present dioceses of New York, Long Island, Albany and Central New York, with 142 congregations and 127 clergy. In the nearly eight years of his administration, up to the division of the diocese, Bishop Onderdonk had confirmed 8,896 persons; ordered 148 deacons; ordained 112 priests and consecrated 96 churches. In 1792 the diocese had 20 clergy; by 1838 the number had grown to 246. Congregations grew from 115 in 1817 to 238 in 1838. And this ratio of growth continued throughout the years of Bishop Onderdonk's active administration.

From every point of view it was a notable episcopate, and was so recognized throughout the Church, and especially in the diocese. In later years when party passion had subsided, the clergy and laity gathered for his funeral recorded their conviction "that he has been ex-

²¹*Convention Journal*, 1834, p 30-31.

celled by very few who have filled the Episcopate in our branch of the Church, in an ardent desire to promote what he deemed her interest and prosperity, in an untiring zeal to aid in her welfare, and in indefatigable labors in the performance of his duties".²²

The Standing Committee of the diocese testified that "they ever found him the courteous gentleman, the learned canonist, the judicious counsellor, the firm untiring administrator of the concerns of this great diocese, which for more than seven years of his Episcopate, comprised the whole State of New York".²³

Upon such a man, with such an unspotted record, descended like a bolt from the blue, the stunning blow of a presentment charging him with "impurity and immorality".

The sad story of what led up to that presentment; the trial and the sentence is long and complicated, and it is this writer's effort to outline it clearly without passion or prejudice.

That his churchmanship was a factor in the proceedings appears to be without question. A disciple of John Henry Hobart, Onderdonk ranked as "a Hobart man", but, like many disciples, he went far in advance of his master and mentor. Hobart happily combined in equal degree devotion to "Evangelical Truth and Apostolic Order", maintaining an almost perfect balance between the two. Onderdonk clung tenaciously to "apostolic order", but lacked the Evangelical fervor. Ecclesiastical order overshadowed Evangelical truth. In his 1841 Address he described

"Protestantism is being riven to the centre with internal dissension; covering with its name every variety of schism, and every bold and wicked innovation of heresy; forming an unholy alliance with the veriest infidelity . . . The rejection of Christ's priesthood, the rejection of His sacraments, every species of schismatic organization, every kind of erroneous and strange doctrine, every grade of heresy, is called by the name protestant, is, in the true meaning of the term, and vaunts itself as the legitimate result of the great privilege of private judgment, and the bounden duty of casting off the degrading and sinful yoke of papal despotism and corruption".²⁴

This made sorry reading for such stalwart "protestants" as the Bishops of Kentucky, Illinois, Delaware, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Ohio all of whom sat in the trial court. In the 1843 convention Bishop Onderdonk spoke of his uniform endeavor "to adhere to those

²²*Obsequies and Obituary Notices of the late Rt. Rev. Bishop Benjamin T. Onderdonk*, p 33.

²³*Obsequies and Obituary Notices*, p 36.

²⁴*Convention Journal, 1841*, p 21.

great Catholic principles which, revealed in the Gospel, have ever been held valuable and important, as incorporated into the evangelical system, by all pure branches of the Church of Christ . . . whether those principles have had levelled against them the fulminations of papal tyranny and usurpation, or those of Protestant zeal for erroneous and strange doctrines, contrary to God's word, my devotion to them has strengthened with years, reflection and experience, and with it my determination, God being my helper, to continue faithful and consistent with that devotion".²⁵

Less than three years after Onderdonk's consecration John Keble preached the memorable sermon on "National Apostasy" before the University of Oxford. The "Oxford Movement" was born. It found articulate expression in the "Tracts for the Times". That Movement had a profound and far-reaching influence on the Church in the United States. In 1839 the Tracts were republished in New York where they had an unexpectedly large circulation. They were commended by Samuel Seabury in *The Churchman*, and, we may assume, with the tacit approval of the Bishop. Seabury was not even phased by the issue of Tract XC. On the other hand, *The Gambier Observer*, the organ of Bishop McIlvaine, likened the Tracts to poisoned meat offered for sale in the shambles. The seed of what Dr. James Milnor called "the Oxford heresy" fell on fertile soil in the diocese of New York. Bishop Stewart of Quebec is on record as saying that he had heard more about the Tracts in a three days sojourn in New York than in a year's residence in London.²⁶

It was freely stated that they were recommended to the students of the General Theological Seminary by the bishop who was a member of the faculty, and their readiness to embrace the views set forth therein was regarded by Dr. Milnor as "calculated to give a most dangerous character to the ministry of these future standard-bearers of our church".²⁷

There is ample evidence that the Tractarian teaching appealed most powerfully to Bishop Onderdonk. A goodly part of his 1841 convention address dealt with the Oxford theology as it found expression in the Tracts. After declaring that "the true blessings of the Reformation are to be found not in departure from Rome, but in return to Christ—to the principles, faith, and order of His One Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church"²⁸ he added, "So thought the brethren who have been termed 'the 'Oxford Divines'.'" He went on to say:

²⁵*Convention Journal*, 1843, p 79.

²⁶Stone. *Memoir of the Life of James Milnor, D. D.*, p 554.

²⁷*Ibid.*, p 554.

²⁸*Convention Journal*, 1841, p 82.

"I know not that there is, either in this country or England, any body of men, I think I may say any individuals, who are the pledged and indiscriminating approvers and advocates of the works of the Oxford Divines, any more than of other human compositions. But that for which there is a loud, imperious, and extensive call among serious and reflecting minds in both branches of the Church, is, that a patient and unbiassed hearing should be given to those good men. There are two great evils to be met, the progress of popery on the one hand, and the false position of its opponents on the other. This is the cause in which the Oxford Divines are enlisted. They would distinguish popery, not from protestantism—for that is a most heterogeneous mass—but from scriptural and primitive catholicity. Here they look for the Christian system in its integrity. They wish not to allow to the Church of Rome the false boast that her popish peculiarities are catholic. They wish to remove from Protestants the miserable and suicidal delusion, that all that is opposed to Rome is therefore true, and to enable them to separate what in the present Romish system is retained of catholic verity from what of papal error is mingled with it."²⁹

He granted that, though in their earnestness, and "in the honest and zealous prosecution of objects so unquestionably good, they may sometimes push their zeal too far, and concede more than in propriety should be conceded", this is only, after all, often the case "with the very best of men". Speaking specifically at the same convention to the laity, he was much less cautious when he proceeded to say:

"I have been pleased to know that the 'Oxford Tracts' have arrested the attention of some of the most intelligent and seriously-minded among you. I would that it were more so. Among their best influences are the *spiritual views* which they give of the Church, and all departments of its service, business, and operations. Let our worthy Laity who, parochially or otherwise, are called into the charge and conduct of any department of ecclesiastical concerns, duly reflect on the views of the Christian Church, its objects, its character, and its operations, which these Tracts afford, and I cannot but think that by the divine blessing on their good sense and moral principles, there will be a happy deliverance from the weight of worldly principles, views, feelings, and operations, which now presses down the Church to a level so secular, and often of so questionable a moral character."³⁰

Such sentiments excited deep resentment in Evangelical circles; the more so as they came from the lips of the bishop of the largest and most influential diocese in the American Church.

²⁹*Convention Journal, 1841, p 83.*

³⁰*Ibid., p 85.*

In the early Forties dark clouds gathered on the ecclesiastical horizon. The party spirit reared its ugly head to an hitherto unprecedented degree. The Low Church bishops like Meade, McIlvaine, Eastburn, Chase and others, who had been in the ascendancy for several years, became seriously alarmed at the spread of the Oxford Movement of which Onderdonk was regarded as the leader. On the other hand the High Churchmen had the strong support of Samuel Seabury in his caustic editorials in *The Churchman*. Bishop McIlvaine's ire was particularly aroused by a scornful review in that publication of his ponderous book on *The Oxford Divinity* which was characterized as "mere romance; not even founded on fact; incompetent; a perversion of historical truth". McIlvaine was indignant and charged that Bishop Onderdonk was responsible for this and kindred statements which appeared in *The Churchman*.³¹ Under date of March 5, 1841, he wrote:

"It is not merely Dr Seabury who is responsible, but it is his endorser and patron and supervisor, his protector in these things; it is the Bishop of New York who is just so much the more responsible for these expressions and charges, as his influence in giving them weight is greater; and so will be held by the Church as well as by myself".³²

In the light of subsequent events these were ominous words.

The growing feeling against Bishop Onderdonk was accentuated by the famous "Carey" ordination in 1843.

Arthur Carey was a brilliant student of the General Theological Seminary; intellectually gifted; theologically minded; deeply spiritual. He is said to have spent three hours a day in devotional exercises and to have read the New Testament through five times a year.³³

He was profoundly affected by the Oxford Movement which had taken deep root in the Seminary.³⁴

³¹*The Churchman* was announced as "under the General Direction and Supervision of the Bishop of the Diocese of New York of whom it is the official Organ of communication with his diocese". By which was meant that it was used by the bishop for his official announcements and notices of visitations.

³²*The Episcopal Recorder*, March 6, 1841.

³³Arthur Carey was born in London, England, June 26, 1822, and was brought to the United States at the age of eight. For three years he resided in the family of Bishop Hopkins of Vermont, and was confirmed by him. In 1836 he entered Columbia College graduating at the head of his class. When he was just over seventeen he went to the General Theological Seminary and remained there until his ordination as deacon, four years in all. He then became assistant at the Church of the Annunciation, New York, of which the Rev. Dr. Samuel Seabury was rector. Shortly afterwards his health failed and he sailed for Havana with his father. He died on board ship on April 4, 1844, and was buried at sea on Good Friday. (Cf. Seabury Memorial Sermon.)

³⁴Cf. Chorley. "The Seminary and the Oxford Movement". *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, Vol. V., p 183-184; and Walworth. *The Oxford Movement in America, or Glimpses of Life in an Anglican Seminary*. (Walworth, who became a Romanist, was a student with Carey at the Seminary.)

For three years Arthur Carey taught Sunday School in St. Peter's Church, of which the Rev. Dr. Hugh Smith, a Low Churchman, was rector. He was a candidate for holy orders from that parish. His suspicions as to Carey's Romeward bent being aroused, Dr. Smith refused to sign the necessary testimonials, giving as his reason that he could not certify "that you have never written, taught or *held* anything contrary to the doctrine or discipline of the Protestant Episcopal Church"³⁵ and he so notified the bishop. Carey's testimonials were then signed by the rector, wardens and vestrymen of Trinity Parish. He passed with ease all the canonical examinations and was recommended for ordination by the Standing Committee.

Whereupon the Rev. Dr. Hugh Smith of St. Peter's and the Rev. Dr. Henry Anthon, rector of St. Mark's in the Bowery, filed with the bishop a formal protest against the ordination on the ground of disloyalty to the doctrine, discipline and worship of the Protestant Episcopal Church. Although every canonical requirement had been met, Bishop Onderdonk then summoned a special board of examiners consisting of six of "the worthiest, wisest and most learned presbyters of the diocese" to review the case, and invited the presence of the two clerical protestors. They subjected the candidate to a long and searching examination, consisting, in the main, of hypothetical questions, of which the following is an example:

"Supposing entrance into the ministry of the Protestant Episcopal Church in this country were not open to you, would you, or would you not, have recourse, in such case, to the ministry of the Church of Rome?"³⁶

Other questions embraced the decrees of the Council of Trent; the doctrine of purgatory; prayers for the dead. Carey declared that he did not hold the doctrine of transubstantiation, but added, "I conceive myself at liberty to confess ignorance on the mode of the Presence".³⁷

At the close of the examination the six presbyters expressed the view that there was "no just cause for rejecting the candidate's application for holy orders". The two protestors, on the other hand, jointly held that the results "were altogether unfavorable to Mr. Carey",³⁸ and reserved the right to take further action.

The ordination was appointed for St. Stephen's Church on the morning of Sunday, July 2nd. When the usual challenge to the con-

³⁵*The True Issue for True Churchmen*, p 12.

³⁶*Smith and Anthon. A Statement of Facts in Relation to the Recent Ordination*, p 17.

³⁷*Statements of Fact*, p 36.

³⁸*Ibid.*, p 25.

gregation was reached, Drs. Smith and Anthon, in full canonicals, stepped into the aisle and read a formal protest against the ordination of Mr. Carey on the stated ground that "he holds things contrary to the doctrine of the Protestant Episcopal Church in these United States, and in close alliance with the errors of the Church³⁹ of Rome". The bishop carried himself with great dignity. Replying to the protest, he said:

"The accusation now brought against one of the persons presented to be ordained deacon has recently been fully investigated by me with the knowledge and in the presence of his accusers, and with the advantage of the valuable aid and counsel of six of the worthiest, wisest and most learned of the presbyters of this diocese, including the three who are assisting in the present solemnities. The result was that there was no just cause for rejecting the candidate's application for holy orders. There is consequently no reason for any change in the solemn service of the day, and therefore all these persons being found meet to be ordained are commended to the prayers of the congregation".⁴⁰

The protesters then withdrew from the church, and the ordination proceeded without further interruption.

Then the storm broke. Drs. Smith and Anthon⁴¹ led the way with a pamphlet entitled "*The True Issue for True Churchmen*", setting forth what they called "A Statement of Facts Relating to the Recent Ordination". They defined "the True Issue" thus: "Shall virtual conformity with Rome form, or not form, an *impediment to ordination*?"⁴² Another pamphlet by one calling himself "A Churchman", bore the significant title, "*The Progress of Puseyism*". Other pamphlets followed. Dr. Seabury in *The Churchman* rallied to the defense of the bishop in a series of caustic editorials and published "*A Full and True Statement of the Examination and Ordination of Mr. Arthur Carey*".

³⁹Statements of Facts, p 35.

⁴⁰The Churchman, July 8, 1843.

⁴¹Henry Anthon was born in New York City, March 11, 1795; graduated, B. A., Columbia, 1813; prepared for holy orders under Bishop Hobart and was ordered deacon, Sept. 29, 1816, at the age of 21. Ministered at Red Hook on the Hudson River and in neighboring villages for three years; ordained priest by Bishop Hobart, May 27, 1819. In that year he married Emilia Corr . In search of health, two years were spent in South Carolina, returning to New York in 1821. Rector of Trinity Church, Utica, New York, 1822-1829; St. Stephen's Church, New York City, 1829-1831; assistant minister, Trinity Parish, New York City, 1831-1836. From 1836 until his death on January 5, 1861, rector of St. Mark's in the Bowery.

Dr. Anthon had been a warm disciple of Bishop Hobart and had been classed as a High Churchman, but the Carey ordination, following upon some probable uneasiness over the Tractarian movement, precipitated his transfer into the ranks of the Evangelicals.

⁴²Statement of Facts, p 42.

The editors of the *Episcopal Recorder* and the *Southern Churchman* espoused with equal warmth the cause of the protestors, and the controversy extended to the secular press of New York.

The changes were rung on the old war cry: "No Popery". The excitement spread through the whole Church. Other bishops, contrary to all precedent, intervened. Bishop Hopkins of Vermont thought that at the worst Bishop Onderdonk had committed an error of judgment,⁴³ but Philander Chase bluntly declared that "to be in the Church with Romanist sentiments is a crime, and as such should be punished". Writing to Dr. James Milnor of New York, Bishop Meade, of Virginia, (later one of the presenters), said:

"We have fallen upon strange times. We have reached a fearful crisis in the Church. I had not supposed it possible that Romanism had so far regained its power among us, as recent events in your city and the language of some of our religious papers would indicate. . . . I trust our brethren, Anthon and Smith, find strong supporters, not only among the laity, but also among the clergy in your city",⁴⁴

and he added the significant words—significant in the light of impending events—"Our next General Convention can scarcely avoid some agitation on the subject". Dr. Milnor's reply gave cold comfort. He wrote:

"Recent developments here afford reason to believe, that to a greater extent than we had imagined, the Oxford heresy has invaded this diocese. The noxious influence of * * * has exceedingly corrupted the minds of our younger clergy and candidates for orders; and indeed I am grieved to the heart, to find such a tendency to Romanism as prevails among some of the more advanced in years and standing".⁴⁵

Bishop McIlvaine referred at length to the ordination in his charge to the diocese of Ohio in 1843, saying: "I must solemnly protest against the ordination of a candidate exhibiting the like state of mind, being ever again allowed in the Protestant Episcopal Church in these United States".⁴⁶ This part of the charge was referred to a special committee of presbyters and laymen assembled in convention. The committee strongly supported the bishop's stand, declaring that the views held by Mr. Carey were such as "should disqualify any candidate from receiving orders", and adding that the trustees of the General Theological

⁴³Hopkins. *Novelties Which Disturb Our Peace, Fourth Letter*, p 33.

⁴⁴Stone. *Memoir of Dr. Milnor*, p 566-67.

⁴⁵*Memoir of Milnor*, p 571.

⁴⁶McIlvaine. *Charge, 1843*, p 45.

Seminary should "take such measures as may tend to secure the students of that Institution from the taints and corruptions of Romanism, and all other erroneous and strange doctrines contrary to God's word".⁴⁷ That one bishop should public censure another bishop, and one diocese should intervene in the affairs of another diocese, was without precedent in the American Church.

At the ensuing convention⁴⁸ of the diocese of New York the bishop referred to the "extraordinary publicity" which had followed the ordination of Mr. Carey, and proceeded to state the reason which had governed his action in the case. He took the position that the challenge in the ordination service is addressed exclusively to the laity, the clergy having other and ample opportunity to express themselves. In this view he was strongly supported by the Rev. Dr. Stephen H. Tyng, who was not only learned in civil and ecclesiastical law, but was also one of the leading Low Churchmen of the day, and former editor of *The Episcopal Recorder*, the most influential organ of that group.⁴⁹

A resolution was offered in the convention alleging that a doubt existed as to the true interpretation of the rubric under which an impediment may be urged against an ordination and requesting the deputies to the General Convention from New York to present a canon which would clear up any ambiguity.⁵⁰ Rightly or wrongly this was regarded as an attack on the bishop. After a notable debate it was defeated by a combined clerical and lay vote of 144 to 55.

The convention closed amid great excitement. Mr. John Duer, a lay delegate, read a statement which he desired should be placed on the minutes. It condemned that part of the bishop's address in which he commended *The Churchman*, expressing dissent therefrom on the ground that "the spirit and tone in which the same is conducted, are such as not to entitle it to the support of Protestant Episcopalians". Acting in his dual capacity as president of the convention and bishop of the diocese, he refused to permit "a paper of this character to come before this house, or to go on the journal of its proceedings", taking the position that the Standing Committee "are my only rightful advisers, and their counsel I shall always be happy to receive".⁵¹ Referring to this convention Dr. Milnor of St. George's, wrote Benjamin Bosworth Smith, Bishop of Kentucky, saying:

⁴⁷*McIlvaine. Charge, 1843, p. 47.*

⁴⁸*Diocesan Journal, 1843.*

⁴⁹*A Letter Sustaining the Recent Ordination of Mr. Arthur Carey by Stephen H. Tyng, D. D., Rector of the Church of the Epiphany, and lately one of the Editors of the Episcopal Recorder, Philadelphia.*

⁵⁰*Journal of Convention, 1843, p. 36-37.*

⁵¹*There is no record of this incident in the Convention Journal.*

"I confess I am grieved and alarmed beyond measure, and especially since our convention, which has just adjourned, and in which the proceedings in the case of young Carey have been sustained by a large majority of the clergy, and by an unexpectedly large number of the laity".⁵²

So far as the Carey ordination was concerned Bishop Onderdonk was vindicated, but his action was neither forgotten nor forgiven by the Low Churchmen. Henceforth he was marked as a man dangerous to the peace of the Church.

The scene now shifts to the General Convention which met in Philadelphia in 1844. Deeply concerned at the rapid spread of the Tractarian Movement, the Low Churchmen made a concerted effort to secure a specific condemnation of the Oxford theology. A resolution was offered calling attention to the promulgation of "serious errors of doctrine", and requesting the House of Bishops to prepare a clear statement of such doctrines as Justification, the Rule of Faith and of the Sacraments.⁵³ A great debate ensued. Eventually it was determined:

"That the General Convention is not a suitable tribunal for the trial and censure of, and that the Church is not responsible for, the errors of individuals, whether they are members of this Church or otherwise".⁵⁴

It further declared that the Liturgy, Offices, and Articles express her essential doctrines, and the canons afford ample means of discipline and correction for all who depart from her standards. This compromise resolution defeated the purpose of the Low Churchmen.

The convention, however, did two things which paved the way for the trial of Bishop Onderdonk.

While the canons of some dioceses made provision "For the Trial of a Bishop", the first general canon was not adopted till 1841. Owing largely to the fact that it provided no penalty in case of conviction, it was repealed three years later. Canon 3, passed in 1844, made possible the presentment of a bishop by a vote of two-thirds of the clerical and lay delegates of his diocese, or by three bishops. Such presentment might be made for "any crime, or immorality, for heresy, or for violation of the constitution or canons of his diocese or of the general Church".⁵⁵ The penalty might be admonition, suspension, or deposition. Section V also provided that, if before sentence, the accused could show that justice had not been done", the Court might grant a re-hear-

⁵²*Milnor Memoir*, p 572.

⁵³*Journal of General Convention, 1844*, p 30-31.

⁵⁴*Ibid.*, p 64-65.

⁵⁵*Ibid.*, p 306-308.

ing. It is impossible now to say whether this new canon was adopted to pave the way for the Onderdonk trial, though Dr. Edwin White in his monumental work on the "*Constitution and Canons*" declares that such was one of its objects.⁵⁶ It is, however, a fact that the presentment was made about three weeks after the passage of the canon.

Be that as it may. One other action of the Convention did lead directly to the presentment and trial—a determination to investigate conditions in the General Theological Seminary. For some time past there had been rumors that all was not well with that institution; that it was a hotbed of Tractarianism. Moved largely by the case of Arthur Carey, the diocese of South Carolina, which had been a generous contributor to the Seminary, directed its representatives on the Board of Trustees "to investigate the grounds of the rumors unfavorable to the Institution".⁵⁷

In the discharge of this duty Mr. Trapier found that rumors "about the misconduct of the Right Rev. Professor, were becoming, day by day, more rife, and were spreading among the Laity".⁵⁸ That there were such rumors is unquestionably true. Whether they were the product of idle gossip which grew in volume as it spread from lip to lip, or whether they had a basis in fact, could ultimately only be determined by an impartial and judicial investigation.

Mr. Trapier satisfied himself that such an investigation was, in the best interests of the Church, imperative. After consultation with his colleagues who were deputies to the Convention from South Carolina, the following Memorial was drafted:

"To the Right Reverend the Bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America.
Rev. Fathers,

The Undersigned members of the Protestant Episcopal Church respectfully represent to you, that many rumors are in circulation among the public, charging unchaste conduct and intemperance against the Right Rev. Benjamin T. Onderdonk, Bishop of the said Church for the diocese of New York.

The undersigned, having separately heard these rumors from various quarters, have been deeply grieved at the scandal they bring upon the Church, and the injury which they inflict upon the General Seminary, in which Bishop Onderdonk is a Professor. They have therefore, regarded it their duty to trace these rumors as far as practicable, and have accordingly been credibly informed that the following persons will either sub-

⁵⁶White. *Constitution and Canons*, p 594.

⁵⁷Trapier. *A Narrative of the Facts which led to the Presentment of the Rt. Rev. B. T. Onderdonk, Bishop of New York*, p 6.

⁵⁸Trapier, p 7.

stantiate, or give the names of those who can testify to, or substantiate, the said charges . . .

Revs. Clement M. Butler of Boston,
 Smith Pyne, of Washington, D. C.,
 James A. Bolles, of Batavia, New-York,
 Lewis P. W. Balch, of New-York,
 William Richmond, of New-York,
 Peter S. Chauncey, of Rye, New-York,
 James C. Richmond, of Rhode Island,
 Thomas H. Taylor, of New-york,
 Francis L. Hawks, of Mississippi,
 P. P. Irving, of New-York.

The undersigned, therefore, respectfully submit the whole matter to the consideration of the House of Bishops, and request that such action may be taken in the premises by them, whether "in their character as visitors of the Seminary, or otherwise, as in their wisdom may seem expedient".

(Signed)

Paul Trapier,
 Presbyter of the diocese of South
 Carolina.
 J. P. Gallagher,
 Presbyter of the diocese of South
 Carolina.
 C. G. Memminger,
 Lay Deputy from South Carolina,
 Henry A. Dubois,
 Lay Deputy from South Carolina,
 Lewis Morris,
 Lay Deputy from South Carolina."⁵⁹

A copy of this communication was sent to Bishop Onderdonk and the Memorial itself was entrusted to Bishop Meade for presentation to the proper authority.

The drama unfolded rapidly. Bishop Meade had intimated to Bishop Onderdonk his intention to bring the matter *informally* before the Bishops and suggested that he should absent himself from the House at the time.⁶⁰ The accused bishop indignantly refused so to do. Later Bishop Meade said "in substance, *You were right*. I will have nothing more to do with the matter".⁶¹ The Presiding Bishop mentioned in the House the receipt of the Memorial, and asked the bishop of New York if he wished to retire. After discussion the Memorial

⁵⁹Trapier, p 15-16.

⁶⁰Onderdonk. *A Statement of Facts and Circumstances Connected with the Recent Trial of the Bishop of New York*, p 5-6.

⁶¹Ibid., p 6.

was returned to the signers unopened, on the ground that a canon for the trial of a bishop having been adopted, the procedure asked by the memorialists was irregular. After its return, Bishop Elliott of Georgia, in conversation with Mr. Trapier said, "that there were bishops who, if the Memorial were returned, would doubtless receive affidavits in proof of Bishop Onderdonk's misconduct", but added that he himself "would by no means consent to hunt up any evidence".⁶²

So matters stood when the General Convention adjourned. The next step, to use Bishop Elliott's phrase, was "to hunt up evidence", and secure affidavits which might form a basis for presentment. Mr. Memminger, a lawyer from South Carolina, and one of the signers of the Memorial, proceeded to New York on this quest. He found an enthusiastic ally in the person of the Rev. James Richmond, a presbyter of Rhode Island, and formerly of New York who recites his efforts in two pamphlets:

1. *The Conspiracy Against The Late Bishop Of New York Unravelled By One Of The Conspirators, Viz: James C. Richmond, Presbyter Of Rhode Island.* (1845).
2. *Mr Richmond's Reply To The "Statement" Of The Late Bishop Of New York.* (1845).

He was notoriously erratic, and was regarded by many, at times, as "crazy". Certainly these pamphlets are the products of an unbalanced mind. He became obsessed with the idea of the bishop's guilt and pursued him relentlessly. The writer of this article has in his possession a manuscript note quoting the widow of an Episcopal clergyman who declared that Mr. Richmond said: "No matter what trouble it cost him, he would tear the mitre from that man's head".

As early as 1843, he wrote his brother, the Rev. William Richmond of New York, saying:

"I can now prove by several competent, trustworthy and undoubted witnesses, that the O.T.B. is and has been *often* and *often* guilty of the grossest indecency. I cannot prove the actual, legal breach of the seventh commandment; but am fully satisfied, beyond all *cawil*, that if any woman were to be found assenting, this man is guilty. I am satisfied, too, that it is now a matter of notoriety in the female portion of the Diocese, here, there and everywhere. I know no man whom I would watch *so closely, every minute*, in my house. No lady is safe from the

⁶²Trapier, p 17.

grossest, most palpable, and almost open insult.—If he is not admonished, he *must* blow up".⁶³

The next year he writes: "I am going to Philadelphia to overthrow the Bishop of New York."⁶⁴ He scoured New York for evidence and two of the affidavits produced at the trial are in his handwriting. The culmination of his efforts was the following letter addressed

"To the Secretary of the House of Bishops, or the Presiding Bishop.

Right Reverend Fathers,

I accuse the Bishop of New York—hold sworn evidence of his licentious conduct.

When shall we be confronted?

How shall I go on?

Yours in sorrow,

JAMES C. RICHMOND."⁶⁵

Meanwhile, the three bishops, who later signed the presentment, were in New York "receiving and sifting evidence".

During their stay in New York it is stated that they "spent much time in carefully tracing the reports to those with whom they originated, ascertaining precisely what they were prepared to testify, and in satisfying themselves as to the character of the witnesses". They refused to supply Bishop Onderdonk with copies of the affidavits, though they read them to two or three of his friends. As a result of their investigations they determined to present "to their brother bishops the Right Rev. Benjamin T. Onderdonk, pursuant to the canons of General Convention of said Church, in such cases made and provided".⁶⁶ Under date of November 5th, 1844, they notified the bishop of their intention, alleging as their reason for this action "That you may, God helping you, forever put at rest these charges against your moral purity, or else receive humbly the punishment which may be meted out to you in the premises".⁶⁷ They expressed their desire "to bring out the truth and nothing but the truth".

The presentment, signed by Bishops Meade of Virginia, Otey of Tennessee and Stephen Elliott, Jr., of Georgia, was placed in the hands of the Presiding Bishop, Philander Chase of Illinois, who, as directed by the canon, summoned the bishops having jurisdiction in the United

⁶³*Richmond. Conspiracy Unravelled*, p 5.

⁶⁴*Ibid.*, p 11.

⁶⁵*Ibid.*

⁶⁶*Johns. Memoir of Bp. Meade*, p 306-307.

⁶⁷*Bp. Onderdonk's Statement*, p 11.

States, to constitute a trial court which met in the Sunday School room of St. John's Chapel, New York City, on December 10, 1844.

On the day appointed the following bishops, who, as having jurisdiction, were eligible to sit as judges, were present:

Philander Chase, Illinois,	Thomas C. Brownell, Connecticut,
Levi S. Ives, North Carolina,	John Henry Hopkins, Vermont,
Benjamin B. Smith, Kentucky,	Chas P. McIlvaine, Ohio,
George W. Doane, New Jersey,	Leonidas Polk, Louisiana,
Wm. H. De Lancey, W. New York,	C. E. Gadsen, South Carolina,
Wm. R. Whittingham, Maryland,	Alfred Lee, Delaware,
John Johns, Asst Bp Virginia,	Manton Eastburn, Massachusetts,
J. P. K. Henshaw, Rhode Island,	Jackson Kemper, Missy Bishop.
George W. Freeman, Missy Bishop.	

Bishops McCoskry of Michigan, Cobbs of Alabama, and Carlton Chase of New Hampshire, were absent. The three presenting bishops were in attendance, but took no part in the proceedings.

Philander Chase, as senior bishop, presided, and Bishop Whittingham served as clerk. Both sides were represented by counsel and evidence was given under oath. The report of the proceedings covers 330 pages.⁸⁸

On the second day the presentment was read, the text being as follows:

"To the Bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America.

The undersigned, that is to say, the Right Reverend William Meade, Bishop of the said Church in the Diocese of Virginia, the Right Reverend James Hervey Otey, Bishop of the said Church in the Diocese of Tennessee, the Right Reverend Stephen Elliott, jun., Bishop of the said Church in the diocese of Georgia, do hereby, in virtue of the canonical authority reposed in them, present to their brother bishops, the Right Reverend Benjamin Tredwell Onderdonk, Bishop of the said Church in the Diocese of New York, as being guilty of immorality and impurity in the several specifications hereinafter more particularly set forth; and they do solemnly demand a trial of the said Benjamin Tredwell Onderdonk, pursuant to the provisions of the canons of the General Convention of the said Church, in such cases made and provided."⁸⁹

⁸⁸*The Proceedings of the Court Convened under the Third Canon of 1844, in the City of New York, on Tuesday, December 10, 1844, for the Trial of the Right Rev. Benjamin T. Onderdonk, D. D., Bishop of New York; on a Presentment made by the Bishops of Virginia, Tennessee, and Georgia By Authority of the Court.* Pp 333.

⁸⁹*Report of the Trial, pp 5-8.*

To this general charge, and the specifications which were appended, Bishop Onderdonk pleaded "Not Guilty."

The full text of the specifications may be studied in the official report of the trial.

There were nine in all. The second charged that on June 1, 1837, the bishop was "under the influence of, and improperly excited by, vinous or spirituous liquors drunk by him . . . to the scandal and injury of said Church".⁷⁰ The ninth article was general in character, alleging that "at sundry other times he has impurely and unchastely laid his hands upon the bodies of other virtuous and respectable ladies . . . so that he is of evil report within the limits of the said diocese, and in other parts of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America; to the manifest scandal of the Church of Christ, and the disgrace of the office of the said Benjamin T. Onderdonk".⁷¹ By order of the Court this article was stricken out "as not proper for trial, being without reasonable certainty as to time, place, or circumstances" as required by the canon.⁷²

The remaining articles were quite specific. They had a common character viz.: that the bishop had manipulated his hands upon the persons of certain women with an impure intent. There was no suggestion that he proceeded any further. No evidence was offered in one of these cases, and consequently it was not tried. On the third article the bishop was found not guilty;⁷³ the fourth was not tried, the witness refusing to testify. There remained, therefore, for adjudication five specific allegations, all of the characters above described, in addition to the charge of drunkenness.

Concerning these charges there are certain facts to be noted.

1. All the alleged offences dated back to a period before the canon under which the trial was proceeding was adopted. The first and second were in 1837; the third in 1838; fourth in 1839; the fifth and sixth in 1841. No offence of any kind was charged after July, 1842. In the Court itself a motion was offered which read:

"Ordered, That in proceeding to investigate the charges in so much of the Presentment as relates to transactions alleged to have transpired anterior to the date of three years prior to the date of the Presentment, the Court do so with the protest—that such charges (said charges being for immoralities, and not for any offences made criminal by the laws of the land) are

⁷⁰*Report of the Trial*, p 6.

⁷¹*Ibid.*, p 8.

⁷²*Ibid.*, p 8.

⁷³*Ibid.*, p 257.

brought forward contrary to the spirit of our canons, which require, in all cases of moral character, testimonials for the three preceding years only".⁷⁴

The motion was defeated by a vote of 11 to 6.

2. Each of the charges was sustained by only one witness. The testimony of the other witnesses in each case was based on hearsay, and therefore of no legal value. In the case regarded as most serious the husband swore in an affidavit to an act of the bishop, while his wife declared under oath that no such thing happened.

3. The circumstances under which these alleged acts took place rendered them in the highest degree improbable—two of them in an open carriage with the husband and the driver on the front seat; two of them in broad daylight; one in a room with an open door and people standing in the adjacent hall.

4. In all these cases, long after these things were said to have transpired, the bishop was received as a guest in the homes of those who had testified to impure advances. They treated him as though nothing untoward had happened.

The case closed with the addresses of Counsel. On January 2, 1845, judgment was rendered; the vote being taken separately on each specification. The following is the official record of the vote:

GUILTY. Chase, Illinois; Brownell, Connecticut; Hopkins, Vermont; B. B. Smith, Kentucky; McIlvaine, Ohio; Polk, Louisiana; Alfred Lee, Delaware; Johns, Ast. Bp. Virginia; Eastburn, Massachusetts; Henshaw, Rhode Island; Freeman, Missionary Bishop.

NOT GUILTY. Ives, North Carolina; G. W. Doane, New Jersey; Kemper, Missionary Bishop; De Lancey, Western New York; Gadsen, South Carolina;⁷⁵ Whittingham, Maryland.

The Respondent therefore stood convicted by a vote of eleven to six.

The individual judgment of the bishops are on record. Of those who rendered a verdict of "guilty", the longest and weightiest opinion was that of Bishop Hopkins of Vermont: a lawyer by training and a High Churchman to boot, although he had not approved of the Carey ordination. Apparently he was influenced by the character of the witnesses, saying:

⁷⁴*Report of Proceedings*, p. 9.

⁷⁵On the second charge Bishop Gadsen voted "Guilty of one instance of improper excitement by vinous or spirituous liquors, but not of drunkenness."

"Never, in the course of many years experience, have I seen such a body of witnesses. Clergymen of unspotted reputation, their wives exemplary and blameless, communicants active and zealous of good works—such are the persons, on whose solemn oaths we have decided this afflicting issue. And I do not hesitate to say, that if I could admit a single doubt of the substantial correctness of their evidence, I should be compelled to abandon all faith in human testimony".⁷⁶

On the other hand, in his long judgment, Bishop Doane of New Jersey based his verdict of "not guilty" on the apostolic injunction, "Against an elder receive not an accusation but before two or three witnesses". Bishop Jackson Kemper took a like stand, and after a searching analysis of the evidence Bishop Whittingham found the charges to be alike improbable and unproved, as did also Bishop Ives of North Carolina.

The judgment of the majority of the Court, signed by the assentors, read as follows:

"The undersigned, being a majority of the Court of Bishops, convened under the authority of the 3rd Canon of A. D. 1844, passed in the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States, to try the Presentment addressed to the Bishops of the said Church by the Right Reverend William Meade, Bishop of the Diocese of Virginia, the Right Reverend James Hervey Otey, Bishop of the Diocese of Tennessee, and the Right Reverend Stephen Elliott, jun., Bishop of the Diocese of Georgia, against the Right Reverend Benjamin Tredwell Onderdonk, Bishop of the Diocese of New York—do hereby declare that the said Court, having fully heard the allegations and testimony of the parties, and deliberately considered the same, after the parties had withdrawn, did declare respectively, whether, in their opinion, the accused was guilty or not guilty of the charges and specifications contained in the Presentment, in the order in which they are set forth; and the undersigned, being a majority of the said Court, were thereupon found to have concurred in pronouncing that the said Benjamin Tredwell Onderdonk is guilty of the first, the second, the fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth articles, containing the charges and specifications therein expressed of the said Presentment, as by reference to the same will more fully appear; and do, therefore, declare him guilty of immorality and impurity, as the same is charged in the Presentment, and set forth in said specifications.

⁷⁶*Proceedings of the Court*, p 282.

In testimony whereof, the said majority have hereunto set their hands, at the session of the Court, holden in the city of New York, on the 2nd day of January, A. D. 1845.

PHIL. CHASE,

Bishop of Illinois, and Sen. Bishop and President of the Court.

THOS. C. BROWNELL,

Bishop of the Diocese of Connecticut.

JOHN H. HOPKINS,

Bishop of the Diocese of Vermont.

B. B. SMITH,

Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Kentucky.

CHAS. P. MILVAINE,

Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Ohio.

LEONIDAS POLK,

Bishop of the Diocese of Louisiana.

ALFRED LEE,

Bishop of the Diocese of Delaware.

JOHN JOHNS,

Assistant Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Virginia.

MANTON EASTBURN,

Bishop of the Diocese of Massachusetts.

GEO. W. FREEMAN,

Missionary Bishop for Arkansas, &c.¹⁷

The President then announced to the Respondent the judgment of the Court.

It then became the right of the bishop to address the Court "in excuse or palliation of the sentence to be passed". The first part may be paraphrased; the second must be quoted in full, for he was fighting with his back to the wall for that which is dearer than life itself.

Declaring that human courts "can take cognizance only of outward actions", and that "it is the intention which constitutes the guilt", he went on to say "I hereby protest, before this Court, and before Almighty God, my entire innocence of all impure or unchaste intention". He urged that the acts charged against him were "too few in number to constitute habitual impurity", and moreover, they were "remote in time". He added:

"And though my conscience does not upbraid me with impurity in the acts alleged, (the most of which I heard for the first time, in October last, as alleged to my discredit), yet have I long lived in a state of repentance for all my sins known and

¹⁷*Report of the Proceedings*, p. 258-9.

unknown, and habitually sought forgiveness for them from the mercy of God, for the sake of his Son Jesus Christ."⁷⁸

He reminded his judges that there was no appeal from their decision. "The sentence you will pronounce, Rt. Rev. Brethren, will be reconsidered by no other Court in the Church, but is at once the first and the last which the existing laws of the Church provide".⁷⁹

Then, with a pathos which would have moved a heart of stone, he made his final plea for that mercy which drops as the gentle dew from heaven, saying :

"This much, Rt. Rev. Fathers and Brethren, I have thought that I might say, consistently with Christian humility, and due respect for the decision of a majority of your Court. To enter into a consideration of the evidence on which this decision is founded, and of the influences which in my humble, though perhaps too partial judgement, would be neither respectful to you, nor consistent with the canonical privilege which is now awarded to me. On these points, therefore, I am *at present silent*, as in duty bound, and am content to wait with meekness the sentence which you are about to pronounce. That I look forward to this sentence with deep anxiety, I do not affect to disguise. But believe me, Rt. Rev. Fathers and Brethren, my anxiety is not solely for myself; but also for the Church, and for this Court. As respects me, your decision is final for this world, and your power supreme. But, brethren, solemnly protesting as I have protested, and do now protest, before Almighty God and this Court, my entire innocence of all impurity, in chasteness, or immorality, in the acts laid to my charge, and confiding, as I firmly do, in the justice of Almighty God, and the honest judgement of his Church, I of course believe that an unjust sentence of this Court will neither be ratified in Heaven, nor sustained on earth, after the light of reason and truth shall have dispelled, as it surely will dispel, the mists of prejudice and passion. That the sentence which my right reverend brethren are now to pronounce on the most unworthy of their number may not alienate from our body the confidence of the Church, and plunge her into irretrievable distraction, may God, of his infinite mercy, grant through Jesus Christ".⁸⁰

There then remained but the determination of the sentence to be imposed, and that proved to be a difficult task, especially for the six bishops who had returned a verdict of "not guilty". Their duty was

⁷⁸*Report of Proceedings*, p 260.

⁷⁹*Ibid.*, p 261.

⁸⁰*Ibid.*, p 261.

clearly defined by the Canon. They had to award a penalty on one whom they regarded as innocent.

Under the Canon the sentence might be: admonition, suspension or deposition.

Three votes were taken before a decision was reached. The first was as follows:

Admonition: Ives, Doane, Kemper, De Lancey, Gadsen, Whittingham.

Suspension: Brownell, B. B. Smith, Freeman.

Deposition: Chase, Hopkins, McIlvaine, Polk, Lee, Eastburn, Henshaw.

Bishops Ives, George Washington Doane and Whittingham voted for "as slight an admonition as the Canon will admit".⁸¹

On the second vote, Bishop Smith "under the conviction that the effect of conviction must be forever to destroy the usefulness of the Respondent", acceded to "Deposition". On the other hand, Bishops Lee and Eastburn switched to "Suspension". Most significant, however, Bishops Gadsen and Whittingham, who were convinced of Onderdonk's innocence, voted for "Suspension", the latter declaring: "My sentence is for *admonition*, but perceiving that there is no hope of securing a majority of votes for that, I accede to the sentence of *suspension*".⁸² The result of the second vote was: for admonition 4; suspension 6; deposition 7.

By that time it was clear to Bishop Onderdonk's friends on the Court that, to use Bishop Ives' phrase, "suspension was necessary to ward off deposition",⁸³ and they so voted on the third ballot. The final count was:

Deposition: Chase, Hopkins, Smith, McIlvaine, Polk, Lee, Johns.

Suspension: Brownell, Ives, Doane, Kemper, Gadsen, Whittingham, Henshaw, Freeman.

Bishop Onderdonk, therefore, was suspended by the narrow margin of one vote. The suspension was indefinite, there being no time limit. High legal authorities regarded indefinite suspension as illegal. In a carefully drawn report the Standing Committee of the diocese of New York said:

⁸¹*Report of Proceedings*, p 332.

⁸²*Ibid.*, p 333.

⁸³*Ibid.*, p 333.

"In the present instance, the suspension is without any express declaration, whether it be limited or contingent upon any future action, either of the party under the sentence, or of others.

High legal opinions, supported by learning and reasoning, have resulted in the conclusion, that a sentence of suspension, thus indefinite, is in itself void and inoperative, or expires on the adjournment of the court".⁸⁴

That this position was sound is evidenced by the fact that the General Convention of 1847 adopted a canon providing that:

"Whenever the penalty of suspension shall be inflicted on a Bishop, Priest or Deacon, in this Church, the sentence shall specify on what terms or conditions, and at what time the penalty shall cease".⁸⁵

Clearly the Church had come to recognize that a sentence of indefinite suspension, such as was imposed on the bishop of New York, was neither just nor equitable.

The sentence was pronounced by the Presiding Bishop, Philander Chase. It concluded with these words—the italics as in the official report of the proceedings—:

"It is hereby *ordered* and *declared*, that the sentence of this Court upon the Respondent is *suspension* from the office of a Bishop in the Church of God, and from all the functions of the sacred ministry—and this Court do hereby solemnly *pronounce* and *declare* that the Right Rev. Benjamin Tredwell Onderdonk is suspended from all the exercise of his Episcopal and ministerial functions—and do order that the notice of this sentence required by said Canon be communicated by the Presiding Bishop, under his hand and seal, to the Ecclesiastical authority of every Diocese of this Church.

PHILANDER CHASE,

Senior Bishop, and President of the Court of Bishops".⁸⁶

In view of the delicate character of some of the testimony it is extraordinary that the Court specifically ordered the publication of the complete record of the Proceedings, including the securing of the copy-right.⁸⁷

So it was that, wounded in the house of his friends, Bishop Onderdonk turned to the shelter of his home in New York, seldom leav-

⁸⁴*Report of the Standing Committee of the Diocese of New York*, p 6.

⁸⁵*Gen. Con. Journal*, 1847, p 63.

⁸⁶*Report of Proceedings*, p 330.

⁸⁷*Ibid*, p 330.

ing it save to attend the daily services of the Church. His sun went down while it was yet day.

As might be expected, the trial and sentence created a profound sensation throughout the length and breadth of the country. Pamphlets flew thick and fast. Whispers separated chief friends. The editors of the Church papers dipped their pens in vitriol. *The Episcopal Recorder* of Philadelphia called down the fires of heaven on *The Churchman* in New York, while the secular papers, revelling in the scandal, added fuel to the flames. Samuel Seabury, preaching in the Church of the Annunciation (the church attended by Bishop Onderdonk), on the Sunday after the sentence, while he counselled obedience to the judgment, solemnly asserted his belief in the bishop's innocence, characterizing the sentence as "utterly unjust", deserving "not the weight of a feather".⁸⁸

On January 8, 1845, the Presiding Bishop, in accordance with the canon, officially notified the Standing Committee of the diocese of New York of the sentence of the court.

Although technically and canonically not authorized so to do, the Standing Committee of the diocese proceeded, in the emergency, to function as the Ecclesiastical Authority. Acting as such it issued and accepted letters dimissory: passed on candidates for holy orders, and invited certain bishops to visit the diocese for confirmations, ordinations and consecration of churches, among them being the bishops of New Jersey, Connecticut and Western New York. They declined to act, taking the ground that the exigency had not arisen when, under the canons and Constitution, the Standing Committee could properly function as the Ecclesiastical Authority.⁸⁹ On the other hand, Bishop Lee of Delaware, did so recognize it, as did later Bishops Carlton Chase of New Hampshire and McCoskry of Michigan.

So matters stood until the regular meeting of the diocesan convention which convened in New York on September 24, 1845, and continued in session until the 30th.⁹⁰

The diocese found itself in an unprecedented position. Its bishop was "suspended from all exercise of his episcopal and ministerial functions", but was still bishop of the diocese, and as long as he remained such, no other diocesan could be elected in his place.

What to do under these circumstances was the problem the convention had to face. No time was lost. A resolution was presented

⁸⁸Seabury. *Sermon in Church of the Annunciation*, p 5-6.

⁸⁹*Journal of Convention*, 1845, p 45-51.

⁹⁰*Records of the Proceedings and Debates at the Sixty-first Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the Diocese of New York, Commencing on Wednesday morning, September 24th, and Ending on Tuesday, P. M., September 30th, by Robert A. West.*

voicing the conviction, that even if the bishop were restored, he could "never perform the Episcopal functions in this diocese with any prospect of usefulness to the Church".⁹¹

The whole matter was referred to a special committee of ten presbyters and ten laymen and of which the Hon. J. C. Spencer of Albany was chairman. Two reports were presented. The majority report, signed by fourteen members, took the basic position that Bishop Onderdonk, though suspended, was "in fact the law bishop of this diocese, so that no bishop could be ordained in his place".⁹² It further recommended that the General Convention should be asked to come to the relief of the diocese by the adoption of a canon providing for the election of an assistant bishop "with full episcopal authority in himself, and in no way dependent on the Bishop during his suspension".⁹³ In the mean time the Standing Committee would continue to be the Ecclesiastical Authority.

The minority report, bearing six signatures, found its members unwilling to affirm that Dr. Onderdonk "is the existent bishop of this Diocese", neither could they approve of taking any steps for the election of an assistant bishop. They expressed the belief that "the *voluntary resignation*" of the Bishop was the most dignified solution of the problem, and offered the following resolution:

"Resolved, That this Convention, with bitter sorrow for the exigency which renders necessary the expression of such convictions, and in full recognition of the independent responsibility of the bishop, for any course of action he may see fit to adopt, do hereby express their solemn belief, that the effect of the trial and sentence of the Right Rev. Bishop Onderdonk, has been, is, and will continue to be, such as to render injurious to the Church in this diocese, any resumption of the office of its bishop, and the sacred functions thereto pertaining, under any future probable condition of the removal of the sentence, or his own personal contrition and devout life".⁹⁴

Two points of view found heated expression. There were those who believed that Onderdonk, though suspended, was still bishop of New York, and hoped for his restoration. And there were those who contended that the diocese was vacant and the convention could, if it were so disposed, proceed at once to fill the vacancy. The latter argued that a sentence of indefinite suspension automatically voided jurisdiction.⁹⁵ This argument was based upon the fact that at the General Con-

⁹¹*Convention Journal*, 1845, p 19.

⁹²*Ibid.*, p 69.

⁹³*Ibid.*, p 71.

⁹⁴*do*, p 73.

⁹⁵*Debates &c.*, p 33.

vention of 1844 (before the trial and sentence) the House of Bishops had adopted a canon "*Of the Effect of Suspension from the Ministry upon Jurisdiction*", the first section of which said in part: "Any Bishop, Priest or Deacon, who shall incur the penalty of indefinite suspension from the exercise of the Ministry by the proper authority, shall be thereby held incapable of jurisdiction".⁹⁶ When, however, this section was sent down to the House of Deputies, that House struck out these words, and returned it to the House of Bishops so amended. By the irony of fate Bishop Onderdonk moved to non-concur with the Deputies and called for a committee of conference. It proved of no avail. The Bishops felt that they could not meet the objections of the Deputies "without destroying its essential character".⁹⁷ The proposed canon therefore failed of adoption.

It was, however, argued by Dr. Tyng in the diocesan convention that though the canon was not adopted, it shewed the mind of the bishops who a few weeks later pronounced a sentence of indefinite suspension. "I have", declared Dr. Tyng, "the testimony of the action of the House of Bishops, that the sentence of indefinite suspension was to declare the diocese vacant".⁹⁸ He was answered by the Rev. Dr. Francis Vinton who pointed out that inasmuch as the canon was not approved by the House of Deputies, it was not the law of the Church, nor had it been at the time Bishop Onderdonk was suspended. At best, it was an expression of opinion without the force of law. As Dr. Vinton said: "The opinion which they (the bishops) have expressed in the proposed canon is *what they would have wished* our law to be, *not* what our law *actually* is".⁹⁹

Within the necessary limits of this article it is quite impossible to follow the five days debate in detail. A motion was offered by the Rev. Dr. J. Mayhew Wainwright (afterwards first provisional bishop) "That the whole question of the relation of Bishop B. T. Onderdonk to this diocese be referred to the decision of the General Convention".¹⁰⁰ Dr. Wainwright "took occasion to pay tribute to the spirit of Christian submission which the bishop had evinced under the sentence which had been imposed upon him". The vote on this resolution was taken by Orders. The clerical vote was 44 for; 68 against; in the lay order there were 55 ayes; 46 noes.¹⁰¹ It was therefore defeated by a non-concurrence of orders.

Sunday intervened, and the convention reassembled in a calmer

⁹⁶*Journal of General Convention, 1844, p 141.*

⁹⁷*Ibid, p 160.*

⁹⁸*Debates, &c., p 36.*

⁹⁹*Ibid, p 47.*

¹⁰⁰*Journal of Convention, p 90.*

¹⁰¹*Ibid, p 91-94.*

frame of mind. Mutual concessions were made. The resolution to request the General Convention to make possible the election of an assistant bishop was withdrawn, and the Standing Committee was authorized to act as the Ecclesiastical Authority in the case of "the inability or disability of the Bishop".

The convention brought its long and arduous labors to a close by "warmly commending each the other to the common blessings of the great Head of the Church, and the now afflicted diocese to the united prayers of all its members, on all the appointed holy-days of the Church".¹⁰²

We now turn to the involved recital of the efforts made for the remission of the sentence and restoration of jurisdiction. They covered a period of fourteen or fifteen years.

The first move was made by the bishop himself. Under date of October 6, 1847, he addressed a letter to the bishops of the Church asking that they "would open the way for his relief from the operation of the sentence of suspension from the ministry".¹⁰³ It was a touching letter, free from the slightest taint of bitterness; marked by penitence and humility. In the course of the communication he said:

"In a state of almost entire seclusion from the world, I have earnestly endeavored, in reliance on the Holy Ghost, and with constant prayer for His influence, to keep a perpetual guard over my heart, to detect its evil tendencies, to discover, for greater future watchfulness, wherein these have led me astray, and to cultivate the spirit of humble penitence, meek submission, and evangelical faith, devotion, and charity".¹⁰⁴

There is no record of any answer to this letter. It was therefore followed by a Memorial "*to the Bishops, the Clergy, and the Laity . . . in General Convention assembled*". In that document he carefully abstained from passing censure on the members of the Court, contenting himself with challenging the validity of a suspension without limit of time.

This Memorial was read in the House of Bishops and referred to a committee of five, four of whom had pronounced him "guilty" at the trial. In due course, the committee reported unfavorably. Remarking "that he does not stand in the position of a penitent", they added; "so far from this is the fact that he has chosen, in his Memorial, to be an accuser of the law, the court, and of the witnesses".¹⁰⁵ There is, however, not a single sentence in the Memorial which justifies such a state-

¹⁰²*Debates, &c.*, p.

¹⁰³*Obsequies & Obituary Notices*, p 96.

¹⁰⁴*Ibid.*, pp 96-97.

¹⁰⁵*Ibid.*, p 100.

ment. It was also urged in the report that the bishop had not challenged the legality of the sentence at the time; neither had he applied for a review in the shape of a new trial. The general adamant attitude of the committee is indicated in the closing sentence:

"But while your Committee sustain the proposition, that the remission of the sentence is a possible event, in contemplation of law, they deem it but justice to the Memorialist, and to the Diocese of New York, to add, that they consider the probability of its occurrence so slender and remote, as scarcely to afford a reasonable basis for future action".¹⁰⁶

Permission was then given to withdraw the Memorial.

At the diocesan convention of 1849 the Rev. Dr. Whitehouse offered a resolution "earnestly and affectionately" advising the bishop to resign his jurisdiction. It was defeated by a combined vote of 168 to 74. Acting under the specific instructions of the convention, the Standing Committee addressed a prayer to the House of Bishops "for relief from the sufferings consequent on the sentence of the Episcopal Court", and to declare "an early day when the penalty shall cease, and be of no further force or effect".¹⁰⁷

The petition was considered by the bishops in Council, with the result that the petitioners were granted leave to withdraw their memorial. The unbending attitude towards the bishop himself was expressed in these words:

"No mere lapse of time can transform guilt into innocence, nor make him worthy to exercise the office of a Bishop in the Church of God, who by the solemn sentence of its highest tribunal, has once declared to be unworthy".¹⁰⁸

Once more the petitioners "were granted leave to withdraw their Memorial."

One important step, however, was taken. The General Convention adopted a new canon reading as follows:

"A Diocese deprived of the services of its Bishop by a sentence of suspension without a precise limitation of time, may proceed to the election of a Provisional Bishop, who, when duly consecrated, shall exercise all the powers, and authority of the Bishop of the Diocese during the suspension of such Bishop; and who in case of the remission of the sentence of the Bishop; and his restoration to the exercise of his jurisdiction, shall per-

¹⁰⁶*Obsequies and Obituary Notices*, p 110.

¹⁰⁷*Cf. Memorial of Standing Committee.*

¹⁰⁸*Obsequies, &c.*, p 119.

form the Duties of Assistant Bishop prescribed by Canon VI. of 1832, and who in all cases shall succeed to the Bishop, on his death or resignation".¹⁰⁹

Acting under this canon the Rev. Dr. J. Mayhew Wainwright was elected Provisional Bishop of New York in 1852. At his death, two years later, the Rev. Horatio Potter was elected as his successor, and served as such until the death of Bishop Onderdonk. Thus the needs of the diocese were met in part, but no relief was afforded to the suspended bishop.

In 1853 a layman of the diocese of New York sought the opinion of counsel with a view to appealing to the civil courts to test the validity of the sentence imposed on Bishop Onderdonk. Counsel advised that such a suit would be successful and he was supported in this opinion by such eminent lawyers as Chief Justice Jones of New York and Horace Binney of Philadelphia. When the suggestion was made to the bishop he declined to be a party to the proceeding. He foresaw the unpleasant publicity which would result to the hurt of the Church. He had, he wrote, an "irresistible repugnance to bringing ecclesiastical matters before civil courts . . . and to the idea of being drawn before the public in a new, and, to me, particularly distasteful way".¹¹⁰

Five years passed. In 1858 it occurred to the Rev. Francis Lister Hawks (who had not been regarded as very friendly to the bishop), that restoration might be both desirable and possible. After consultation with others in the diocese, Dr. Hawks drafted a Memorial to be sent by Bishop Onderdonk to the House of Bishops which was to meet in General Convention the following year.

This renewed plea was remarkable for its spirit of humility and contrition. He wrote:

"I am not exempt from human infirmity, and, in the calmer reflections to which the lapse of time has contributed, I acknowledge that I cannot but believe parts of my conduct to have betrayed indiscretion, and that my demeanor must, in some instances, have been calculated to produce impressions injurious alike to the Church and myself, however such effect may have been unintended and unperceived on my part. I say that I cannot but believe this, because some of my fellow Christians, and, among them, some of yourselves, brethren, felt bound to this extent to condemn me. I beg you, however, to believe me, when I most solemnly declare, that, in this matter, I was not the slave of deliberate impurity of intention".¹¹¹

¹⁰⁹*General Convention Journal*, 1850, p 57.

¹¹⁰*Obsequies, &c.*, p 121-125.

¹¹¹*Ibid.*, p 127.

And, he added:

"Be my offenses small or great, to whatever extent, brethren, I have brought reproach on the cause of our Master, or given just offence to any of my fellow-Christians, even without a purposed intention of wickedness, I am, without reference to your action on this request, heartily sorry, and desire to humble myself in penitence before God and man. I can say truly, and I thank God for it, as I now do, without any reference to man or his doings, that I have long endeavored to live in a state of habitual repentance for all my sins, known and unknown, and have daily sought forgiveness for them, from the mercy of God, for the sake of His Son Jesus Christ".¹¹²

He asserted with truth that "Those who have known me will, I humbly trust, bear me witness, that ever since the sentence has been imposed, my life has been quiet, my doings unobtrusive, and my conduct, as a member of Christ's Church, not liable to reproach".¹¹³ So, he pleaded for the exercise of that mercy which blesses him that gives, and him that takes.

It was generally recognized, and not least by the bishop, that in the event of his restoration delicate problems concerning his relation to the diocese and to the provisional bishop would call for adjustment, especially as, under the canon, Bishop Horatio Potter would revert to the position of assistant bishop, and as such, would have to act under the direction of the diocesan. To meet this situation, and by the advice of his friends, Bishop Onderdonk prepared a letter to be placed in the hands of Bishop Potter when the House of Bishops had acted favorably upon the plea for the remission of the sentence. In the course of the letter he said: "I therefore lose no time in assigning to you . . . the entire possession of the *administrative* portion of Episcopal duty in the diocese; to act precisely as you have been acting. . . . For myself", he added, "I propose only the performance of such Episcopal duties as on our mutual conference may be deemed expedient".¹¹⁴

Satisfied with this provision, the petition for re-instatement was signed by such Low Church presbyters as Dr. Stephen H. Tyng, Dr. Henry Anthon (who afterwards withdrew his name) and Dr. Benjamin C. Cutler of Brooklyn. Unfortunately, the provisional bishop, acting from a stern sense of duty, could not sanction what appeared to him "to be in the nature of a private bargain", and the memorial was for the moment withheld.

¹¹²*Obsequies, &c.*, p 127.

¹¹³*Ibid*, p 128.

¹¹⁴The full text of this Letter may be found in the *Journal of the Convention*, 1859, p 275-276.

At this point the diocesan convention met. During the sessions the Rev. Dr. Francis Vinton offered a resolution requesting the House of Bishops to remit the sentence, or so to modify it as to fix a time when it should cease.¹¹⁵ A motion to lay this on the table was lost by a combined vote of 208 to 85. After prolonged discussion the following resolution was adopted by a vote of 222 to 65:

Resolved, That the Remission of the Sentence of the Right Rev. Bishop Onderdonk would be acceptable to this Convention on the condition, that the restrictions upon the exercise of Episcopal powers and offices within this Diocese, set forth in his letter to the Rt. Rev. Bishop H. Potter, laid before the Convention and a copy of which is hereto appended, be annexed to the same; or such restrictions relating to the exercise of such powers as the House of Bishops deem proper".¹¹⁶

The resolution was officially presented to the House of Bishops assembled in the General Convention of 1859 at Richmond, Virginia, and was considered in a secret session. A few days later a vote was taken on a motion made by Bishop McCoskry of Michigan "That the sentence should be altogether remitted and terminated". It was defeated by a vote of 26 to 8, the following bishops voting for it: Kemper, Otey, McCoskry, De Lancey, Whittingham, Carlton Chase, Rutledge, Odenheimer.¹¹⁷

It will be noted that Otey, who was one of the presenting bishops in 1844, now voted for the remission of the sentence. An effort made by Bishop Whitehouse, who had succeeded Philander Chase in Illinois, to permit Bishop Onderdonk to perform Episcopal acts at the request of any bishop, but still depriving him of jurisdiction and of a seat in the House of Bishops, failed.¹¹⁸ Bishop De Lancey then moved for the remission of the sentence on condition that Bishop Onderdonk place a full resignation of his jurisdiction in the hands of the Presiding Bishop.¹¹⁹ When this was communicated to the Bishop of New York he replied: "I *dare not*—no matter *what the considerations*—have recourse to an expedient which I consider *so wrong* as resignation".¹²⁰ Obviously, such a step would have been interpreted as an admission of the guilt he had denied for fourteen years.

In an endeavor to unravel the tangle the House of Deputies adopted

¹¹⁵*Journal of Convention, 1859, p 75.*

¹¹⁶*Convention Debates, p 144.*

¹¹⁷*Obsequies, &c., p 145.*

¹¹⁸*Ibid, p 146.*

¹¹⁹*do, p 146-147.*

¹²⁰*do, p 147.*

an amendment to the canon which would have permitted the Bishops to remit a sentence "in part". They refused to concur in the amendment, giving as their reason that there was no "*sufficient cause, at this late period of the session, for its passage*".¹²¹ The usual procedure in a case of non-concurrence between the two Houses would have been a committee of conference, but the House of Deputies, by an inadvertence, was not notified of the action of the Bishops until it was too late for conference. Bishop McIlvaine then moved to lay the Memorial on the table which was carried by a vote of 19 to 12.

So passed the last opportunity for restoration. Before another General Convention Bishop Onderdonk had fallen on sleep.

During his long years of retirement, while he affirmed his innocence, no word of bitterness against either his accusers or his judges ever passed his lips. As far as possible, he withdrew from the public gaze. Writing of him in those days the *Church Journal* said:

"He secluded himself entirely from all appearance in the public eye, unless the anonymous use of his pen in *The Churchman* and the *Churchman's Monthly* be excepted—an employment in every way congenial to his habits and suitable to his retired position—no hint of his authorship being given, except occasionally the modest appearance of his initials at the lower corner, and in later years, not even that. His life has been spent, during these long and lonely years, in his library, with his pen and his books. Resisting the entreaties of all his friends, he has gone abroad nowithers except to the House of God, which has been his *daily* resort. Until his infirmities increased too much upon him, he might be met daily in all weathers, avoiding the main thoroughfares of the city, but wending his way through the quieter streets to the Church of the Annunciation, there to kneel with the few that know how to prize at its true worth the privilege of daily Prayer. Often we have thus met him on his churchward way, walking with a downcast look, as if unwilling to attract attention, and saluting only those who spoke to him first; but then the salute was returned by him with a genial warmth, tinged with sadness, which went at once to the heart".¹²²

Throughout the long years he had cherished the hope of restoration to the work of the Christian ministry, and when that hope finally failed, the outward man decayed rapidly, and he himself realized that the end was not far distant.

On Friday, April 26, the Rev. Dr. Francis Vinton visited him as he lay on a sick bed, very weak in body but mentally alert. Dr. Vinton

¹²¹*Journal of General Convention, 1859, p 218.*

¹²²*Church Journal, May 1, 1861.*

used the Office for the Visitation of the Sick, and he thus describes the scene :

"Among the questions to be asked in the Examination of the Sick, are these, 'Do you repent you truly of your sins'? 'Are you in charity with the world'? The Bishop closed his eyes while he spoke of himself as a sinner, both in thought, word, and deed; saying that 'in his most earnest endeavors to live for Christ and the Church, as well as in exercising himself to have a conscience void of offence towards God and towards man, he saw infirmity and pollution'—then, opening his eyes, he added, 'But the holiest man, equally with the most sinful, finds, in the hour of death, that every hope on which he relies for salvation is dispersed, but ONE—*all but ONE, our Saviour JESUS CHRIST—HE is the Rock of Ages*'. Then, looking me in the face, the Bishop said with solemn earnestness, '*Of all the crimes of which I have been accused and for which I have been condemned, my conscience acquits me, in the sight of God.*'"¹²³

It seems inconceivable that such a man, knowing that the time of his departure was at hand and that he was about to stand in the august presence of Him unto whom all hearts are open, and from whom no secrets are hid, should make such a statement if he were really guilty.

On the following Sunday, at his own request, the Rev. Dr. Seabury administered to him the comfortable sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ. It is on record that "He received the Holy Mysteries with his accustomed evidences of earnest penitence and deep humility; of lively faith, of fervent charity, and of sincere and unreserved forgiveness as he hoped to be forgiven".¹²⁴

He died on Tuesday morning, April 30, 1861, committing himself to that God who

"Watches the rolling hours
With other and larger eyes than ours,
To make allowance for us all."

The *New York Express* of May 8 gave this account of the funeral :

"Few more suggestive spectacles have ever been witnessed in New York than that of yesterday when the funeral solemnities of Bishop Onderdonk were celebrated in Trinity Church, by the clergy and people of what had once been his diocese. The immense concourse that crowded to pay respect to his

¹²³*The capitals and italics are as in Dr. Vinton's letter as printed in Obsequies, &c., p 190.*

¹²⁴*Obsequies, &c., p 189.*

memory, that filled the church and overflowed into the churchyard, and into the public streets, the long procession of priests and deacons who joined in the solemn services which he whom they commemorated had so often led, contained a signal though tardy tribute to the character of the deceased prelate. Tardy indeed, for many of the men who participated in those services had contributed to degrade their Bishop—had volunteered to bring a reproach upon him and the branch of the Church of Christ of which he was the head; though now repentant in spirit, they united with his life-long friends in exculpating his memory. When the form of the venerable man was brought into that church of which he had formerly been the Minister, and deposited in the chancel where he had once been used to celebrate the highest and holiest rites of religion, but which, of late, he might not enter save as a recipient instead of a ministrant; when he who has held and still holds the place of the injured Bishop appeared as chief mourner, and the people who had been deprived of their Father in God, were allowed to see him before the altar, it is true, but laid low in death—it was impossible to forget much that many would wish forgotten."

As an illustration of the attitude of the secular press the *Express* added:

"If Bishop Onderdonk was really worthy of the commemoration paid him yesterday by Ministers and Bishops, and by the Diocese, he was also one of the most persecuted and maltreated of men. If he deserved the eulogiums pronounced on him by the solemn vote of the clergy and laity, then a noble man has been deprived of his just due; a worthy Christian has been unjustly maligned; an innocent person visited with the severest punishment. Then he has displayed an example of the most saint-like charity and unprecedented humility; suffering evils the worst that could be inflicted upon him, the loss of honour, friends, station, power, good name, and the respect of good men, with a meekness and a patience, a forgiveness of enemies, that have few parallels in history".

It was eminently fitting that the sermon at the funeral should be preached by the Rev. Dr. Samuel Seabury, rector of the Church of the Annunciation, Bishop Onderdonk's oldest friend and confidant. Taking as his text the words from John v. 35: "He was a burning and a shining light, and ye were willing for a season to rejoice in his light", he said:

"In anguish of soul, but with characteristic promptitude, our Bishop at once marked out for himself the road he was to travel in the bleak and inhospitable region on whose course he

was wrecked. He bowed to the authority of the Church, received his sentence with humble and submissive temper, and resolved to conform to it in its spirit as well as its letter. He not only sought no opportunity to exercise his office, but he withdrew from the world, that he might devote himself in retirement to the duties of a holy life. The treachery of professed friends, the neglect and ingratitude, the violations of decorum and charity, or what he esteemed such, he could not but deeply feel, and in some marked cases resent; but his resentment was that of sorrow, not of anger or revenge. The spirit of meekness and forgiveness dwelt in his heart, and distilled from his lips. Of his accusers and judges who condemned him he uniformly spoke with all the respect and kindness that were possible for one who felt himself injured by their decision. He said all in their favor that truth would allow and charity dictate. He made no unworthy concessions, no mean compliances; though he never affected to disguise the gratification which he felt at the visits of his numerous friends, and their expressions or messages of regard and confidence . . . a strenuous advocate on principle for the daily service of the Church, he was also a constant and punctual attendant on it: neither heat, nor cold, nor storm kept him from his place: beside this there is little variety of incident to recount, and the last seventeen years of his life may be briefly summed up in the words, 'He departed not from the temple, but served God day and night with prayers' ".¹²⁵

So the inexpressibly sad story ends.

At this distant date it would be a hopeless task to retry the case. All that can now be done is to weave together the facts and to present certain considerations which may make for a more mellowed judgment born of the absence of the bitter ecclesiastical strife which was at its height at the time of the trial.

It should be remembered that this was the first trial of a bishop of this Church under the provisions of Canon 3; indeed the only one. There were, as in civil law, no precedents to govern the procedure. The bishops were called upon to act in the dual capacity of jurors and judges. The only members of the Court who had had legal experience were Bishops Hopkins of Vermont and Alfred Lee of Delaware, both of whom were members of the bar before entering the ministry. Moreover, the canon was admittedly defective and in later years was materially amended. As Bishop De Lancey in rendering his judgement forcibly said:

"It must be admitted, that the canon, under which this court is constituted and compelled to act, is, in many respects, defective. It leaves untouched many most important points,

¹²⁵*Seabury. Funeral Sermon, p 23 ff.*

on which the minds of the members of the court have been much embarrassed. It fixes no rule as to the number of witnesses necessary to prove a charge. It fixes no rule as to the limitation of time, beyond which charges are to be regarded as stale and undeserving of investigation. It gives no power to challenge the right of a Bishop to act as juror and judge, who for any reason may be supposed to be inimical to the accused party. It fails to explain the meaning of the term 'suspension', or whether the court can limit it or not. It provided no mode for removing the sentence of suspension. It compels those, who think a person not guilty, to vote on the question of his punishment. It puts the presenters in the attitude of accusers, committed to the necessity of convicting the accused, in order to justify their own action in making the Presentment".¹²⁶

Moreover, three of the bishops of the Court who voted for a sentence of deposition, would have been disqualified to sit on the case in any civil court by reason of previous and publicly expressed hostility to the respondent.

How far ecclesiastical partisanship inspired the presentment and influenced the verdict and sentence is not easy to determine. There are, however, indications that it was a factor. The three presenting bishops were Low Churchmen, though there is not the slightest ground for the assertion that they deliberately conspired to bring about the downfall of Bishop Onderdonk. It was claimed by the bishop's friends that he was declared guilty by Low Churchmen who were influenced by their ecclesiastical party convictions; on the other hand, Bishops Hopkins and Brownell, who also voted guilty, were far from being Low Churchmen, and consideration must be given to the fact that the six bishops who voted not guilty were all strong catholic Churchmen. The *Southern Churchman*, in one of its issues, was frank enough to say, "We admit that his recommendation of the Tracts for the Times, and the ordination of Mr. Carey, and, perhaps, more than all, his arbitrary and unjustifiable conduct at the close of the New York Convention of 1843, proved the occasion of his trial".¹²⁷

Coming from a leading Low Church paper this admission is significant.

There was an element of vindictiveness which cannot be overlooked. It was manifested after the trial and sentence, and to a greater or lesser degree pursued the bishop to the end of his life.

After the suspension there were in circulation specific and "shocking" statements which were traced directly to a bishop and a presbyter. Concerning these new charges Bishop Whittingham wrote:

¹²⁶*Proceedings of the Court*, p. 302.

¹²⁷*Quoted in Obscures, &c.*, p. 12.

"I have made inquiry concerning these stories, and am satisfied that they are cruel calumnies. They were personally inquired into by Bishops Ives, Kemper and De Lancey, with the declared intention of presenting if they were found true. The result was, in the language of Bishop De Lancey, as reported to me, "That to his mind there was not the slightest ground for belief in anything unfavorable to Bishop Onderdonk from these rumors. On the contrary, that this case only furnished another evidence of the wicked and cruel endeavor of his enemies by slanderous reports to crush him into the dust".¹²⁸

The unbending attitude of a majority of the House of Bishops to the repeated pleas for restoration has already been indicated. From the first Memorial in 1847 to the last in 1859 there was a determination that Bishop Onderdonk should not at any time or under any circumstances be restored. By canonical enactment they were given power "to remit and terminate any judicial sentence imposed by the bishops acting as a tribunal". Exercising this power in 1856 they remitted the sentence passed on another bishop,¹²⁹ but to the end steadfastly refused to extend this clemency to the bishop of New York. Granted that he might have been "overtaken in a fault", for which he surely made atonement by his daily life, they were unmindful of the apostolic injunction "to restore such a one in the spirit of meekness; considering thyself, lest thou also be tempted".

The root of Bishop Onderdonk's trouble was his paternal effusiveness which led him into indiscretions to the point of imprudence. Bishop Whittingham, who was one of his closest friends said: "I have seen on the part of the bishop so much familiarity and coarseness of manner, if you choose—that I know well how he could give ground for wrong accusation".¹³⁰

As Bishop Gadsen said, in delivering his judgement: "Familiar manners are peculiarly liable to misunderstanding".¹³¹ Bishop De Lancey, in support of his judgement "that imprudences do not imply immorality", quoted with great effect from the trial of Bishop Benjamin Smith of Kentucky in 1837; Bishop McIlvaine being one of the judges. On several specifications the Court pronounced him guilty "without criminality"; under another head: "Guilty of the facts alleged; an evil motive not appearing, but indiscretion manifest".¹³² He was acquitted.

It may be granted that Bishop Onderdonk was imprudent; indis-

¹²⁸Brand. *Life of Bishop Whittingham*, Vol. i, p 362.

¹²⁹Henry U. Onderdonk, *Bishop of Pennsylvania*.

¹³⁰*Life of Whittingham*, Vol. i, p 359.

¹³¹*Proceedings of the Court*, p 312.

¹³²*Ibid.*, p 307.

creet, and that his actions were misinterpreted to the hurt of the Church. But he was tried, convicted and sentenced not for indiscretion or imprudence, but for immorality with a deliberately impure intent; that is a very different thing, and is open to grave doubt.

Amid a maze of contradictions two facts should be carefully weighed. The first is that those who had known him most intimately and for the longest period of time were the most profoundly convinced of his innocence.

The other is his manner of life during the nearly fifteen years of suspension. By common consent, it was all that could be desired. He walked humbly before God and gave every evidence of a contrite spirit. Even those who still believed him to have been guilty were the first to bear their testimony to his exemplary life in the later years.

Bishop Horatio Potter, who as Provisional Bishop, stood in a peculiarly delicate relation to the Diocesan, voiced the general feeling in his address to the diocesan convention in 1861, when, after speaking of the deceased clergy, he went on to say:

"One there was who stood in this place. . . . Standing as we do over a new-made grave, and looking back upon a recent scene of sorrow and suffering, there can be, it is hoped, but one feeling throughout the whole Church, a wish that every voice may be hushed save the voice of sympathy and tender recollection. From the cloud of sorrow there rises up before the mind's eye the image of a sufferer, a person of affectionate dispositions and engaging manners, who loved the Church; who once went forth amongst her foremost champions, and whose kindly smile and friendly words had won many a loving heart. Is it strange that tears should fall? Is it wonderful that friends, among whom he had ministered, and who communed with him in private, or looked upon his venerable form as he passed in the street, day by day, and year after year, should have been deeply moved at the sight of so much patient sorrow? . . . The feeling that pervades the diocese testifies to the eminent social and administrative qualities of the departed Bishop. My own memory of him begins in acts of personal kindness towards myself. In all the thirty-five years, not a syllable from him ever reached my ear that sounded harshly. His last words to me, on the very verge of death, conveyed a loving message to those nearest to me. No narrow consideration shall restrain me from saying so much, and paying my tribute to a character made engaging by so many amiable qualities, and hallowed by so much suffering".¹³³

"God accept him,
Christ receive him".

¹³³*Convention Journal, 1861, p 97-98.*

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"And shame it is, if that a preest take kepe,
To see a shotten shepherd, and clene shepe;
Wel ought a preest ensample for to yeve,
By his clenenesse, how his shepe shulde live".

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Veritas Nihil Verctur Nisi Abscondi

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"Eves-droppers, or such as listen under walls, or windows, or the eves of a house, to hearken after discourse, and thereupon to frame slanderous and mischievous tales, are a common nuisance."

4 Blackstone's Commentaries, 168.

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"There was enough in the articles (of impeachment), Heaven knows, if they could be established, to damn any man."

New York: John F. Trow & Co., Printers, 33 Ann Street. Pp 16. 1845.

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"Old things as new, and new as old he draws,
And makes the worse appear the better cause".

"He was in logic a great critic,
Profoundly skilled in analytic,
He could distinguish and divide
A Hair 'twixt south and south-west side—
On either which he would dispute,
Confute, change hands, and still confute.
He'd undertake to prove by force
Or argument, a man's no horse".

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"Verily, there is a march of Science;—but, alas who shall beat the drums for its retreat".

"It is an historical fact, of which all the Bishops who hear me must be fully aware, that for the last two years, or for nearly that period, there has been every possible effort made in this Diocese, to destroy the Bishop".

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"I was dumb with silence: I held my peace, even from good; and my sorrow was stirred".—Ps. XXXIX, 2.

Preached the Sunday morning after the sentence and in the church regularly attended by the Bishop.

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Records of the Proceedings and Debates at the 61st Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of New York. Held in St. John's Chapel, in the City of New York, Commencing on Wednesday morning, September 24th, and Ending on Tuesday, P. M., September 30th. By Robert West. New York: Stanford and Swords, Broadway. 1845. Pp 148.

*Report of the Committee Appointed to Consider the Sentence upon the Right Reverend Benjamin T. Onderdonk, and the Effect Thereon Upon the Powers and Duties of the Standing-Committee of the Diocese of New York. New York: Stanford & Swords, 139 Broadway. 1845. Pp 13.

*Report to the Vestry of St. Peter's Church, Albany, of the Lay Delegates appointed by them, Who attended the Diocesan Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, Held at the City of New York, on the 23rd day of September, 1845, and continued to the 30th of the same month. Albany: Erastus H. Pease. 1845. With Appendices. Pp 42.

*Pamphlets.

*The Proceedings of the Late Convention. A Review of a Pamphlet, by the Hon. John C. Spencer, Entitled Report to the Vestry of St. Peter's Church, Albany, of the Lay Delegates Appointed by them, who Attended the Diocesan Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, held at the City of New York, on the 23rd day of September, 1845, and continued to the 30th of the same month.

*Credis hoc posse effici,
Inter Videntes omnia?*

Seneca, in Hyppolyto.

New York: J. R. Winsor, Printer, 133 Fulton Street. 1846. Pp 38.

EFFORTS FOR RESTORATION

Obsequies And Obituary Notices of the Late Right Reverend Benj. Tredwell Onderdonk, D. D., Bishop of New York, Including the Several Applications for the Removal of His Sentence and Other Documents, So Arranged as to Form a Connected History of Events, With Introductory Remarks. By A New-York Churchman. New York: Published by H. B. Price, 884 Broadway. Pp 191. 1861.

The compiler was the Rev. Samuel Seabury, editor of *The Churchman*, An excellent picture of Bishop Onderdonk is prefixed.

*The Bishop of New York and His Brethren. Bishop Onderdonk's Letter to the House of Bishops, and Memorial to the General Convention. With the Report Thereon of a Committee of Said House, and Remarks on the Report. By A Christian. New York: Published for the Author. MDCCCXLVII. Pp 12.

*The Prayer of the Diocese of New York to the House of Bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church for Relief from Sufferings Consequent on the Sentence of the Episcopal Court in January, 1845. Dated September 25, 1850. Pp 16.

*Is the Diocese of New York Vacant? n. d.

*Statement of Dr. Anthon read before the Convention of the Diocese of New York, September 20, 1859, in relation to the Case of Bishop Onderdonk.

Journals of the Convention of the Diocese, 1847-1851; 1858, 1859, 1861.

*Witness Unto The Truth. A Sermon Preached in Trinity Church, New York, on Tuesday, May 7th, 1861, at the Funeral of the Right Reverend Benjamin Tredwell Onderdonk, Bishop of the Diocese of New York, and Professor of the Nature, Ministry, and Polity of the Church in the General Theological Seminary of the Protestant Episcopal Church. By Samuel Seabury, D. D., Rector of the Church of the Annunciation, New York. "Let me now fall into the hand of the Lord; for very great are his mercies; but let me not fall into the hand of man". I Chron. XXI. 13. New York: Mason Brothers, 5 & 7 Mercer Street. 1861. Pp 40.

*Pamphlets.

THE DIOCESE OF MISSISSIPPI AND THE CONFEDERACY

By Nash Kerr Burger

IN the nearly seventy years, between 1792, when the Rev. Adam Cloud brought the first services of the Episcopal Church to "the far-famed Natchez Country,"¹ and the withdrawal of the state of Mississippi from the Union in January, 1861, that land had been wrested from the wilderness, the Indians, and the Spaniards; and a complex society, smacking at once of the frontier and of Tory gentility, had been created into an American state. In the process was born the Episcopal diocese of Mississippi, the first convention of which met in Natchez, in May, 1826.²

By 1861, there were 1,317 communicants reported from thirty-nine parishes and missions, ranging from Trinity Church's, 252, at Natchez, and Christ Church's, 187, at Vicksburg, in which easily accessible river-towns the Church had been established for some time, to 12 members at St. Jude's, Corinth, and 4 at the Meridian mission, both smaller settlements, where the Church had more recently gone. Jackson, the capital, had 116 communicants. The Church was at work generally over the state, but was strongest in the southwest, the Natchez district, where Natchez, Church Hill, Woodville, Port Gibson, Grand Gulf, Washington, and the rural parish of the Epiphany, Claiborne County, near Port Gibson, supplied a large part of the wealth and membership of the Church. Yet there were thriving parishes along the Gulf of Mexico, such as Trinity at Pass Christian, and St. Luke's at Shieldsborough (Now Bay St. Louis), which were especially active during the summer months, when wealthy planters and merchants from New Orleans and the interior had long been wont to come there. Most of the remaining parishes were along the fringes of the Mississippi river delta, above Vicksburg, or across the north-central part of the state, where such towns as Holly Springs, Columbus, and Okolona had prospered, as the planters had prospered, in the flush-times after 1830.³

Established as a Diocese in 1826, Mississippi had been served by Polk and Otey, and since the Feast of St. Matthias, 1850, had main-

¹*History of the Introduction of Protestantism into Mississippi and the Southwest*, Rev. John G. Jones, pg. 93.

²*Journal of the Episcopal Church in Mississippi, 1826*, pg. 1.

³*Journal of the Diocese, 1861*, pgs. 66-87. Hereafter called *Journal*.

tained its own bishop, the Rt. Rev. William Mercer Green, who had come to the diocese from North Carolina, on being elected bishop.⁴

Bishop Green's grandfather, Dr. Samuel Green, came from Liverpool to settle on the Cape Fear river, near Wilmington, North Carolina, in which town he died and was buried in 1771. He was twice married, and by his second wife, Hannah Mercer, had seven children, one of whom, William, was the father of the Bishop. William Mercer Green was born May 2, 1798, in Wilmington, North Carolina. In 1814, he entered the University of North Carolina and in 1818 received his A. B. degree. It is said that a life of Bishop Berkeley, read during his university days, had much to do with the decision of the future bishop to undertake preparation for the priesthood. Married soon after graduation from college, he was ordained deacon, April 29, 1821, and priest, April 20, 1823, by Bishop Channing Moore, and was for four years in charge of St. John's Church, Williamsborough, and in charge of missions at Halifax, Raleigh, Oxford, Milton, and Hillsborough. In 1826, Bishop Green established St. Matthew's Church at Hillsborough, and changed his home to that place. In 1837 the University of North Carolina offered him the position of chaplain to the University and of professor of Belles-Lettres. He accepted the dual post and remained at Chapel Hill until called, in 1849, to be the first bishop of Mississippi. Bishop Green was consecrated in St. Andrew's Church, Jackson, on February 24, 1850, by Bishops J. H. Otey of Tennessee; Leonidas Polk of Louisiana; N. H. Cobb of Alabama; and George W. Freeman of Arkansas. Previously, in 1845, the University of Pennsylvania had conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Divinity.⁵

The State of Mississippi was exceedingly prosperous during the first decade of Dr. Green's episcopate. The per capita wealth was \$2,128.46 for the whites in 1860, as compared with \$694.78 for the nation, while in such a county as Adams, which included Natchez, it was actually \$4,542.50.⁶ And since the Church, as generally in the South, was strongest with the planter group, the diocese shared the general good times.

Bishop Green was a leader in the movement for the University of the South, and of the original \$500,000 quickly raised to start it a considerable part came from Mississippi.⁷ The parishes paid \$3,273.23

⁴*Journal*, 1850, pg. 9.

⁵This sketch of Bishop Green's life before his coming to Mississippi is based on *Genealogy of the Sharpless Family*, Gilbert Cope, Philadelphia, 1887, pgs. 307-308 and 497-498. See also: Wm. Stevens Perry, "The Bishops of the American Church," New York, 1897, p. 111.

⁶"Confederate Mississippi," thesis Duke University, Betterworth, p. 296.

⁷*Journal*, 1860, p. 30.

in the year ending in the spring of 1861, to the diocese for bishop's salary and other expenses,⁸ and themselves operated on an income of \$29,757.74, for the year ending April, 1860.⁹ An Episcopal Endowment Fund of \$6,425 was being added to annually.¹⁰ And in addition to the money put by churchmen into numerous schools, wholly or partly under Church control, the actual church property was valued at \$159,840, in 1860.¹¹ Financially, then, ten years after the beginning of the episcopate of Bishop Green, the diocese was well organized and expanding rapidly with the growth of the state.

Out of the whole number of the state's 791,305 inhabitants (census of 1860), the number of Episcopalians was not large. If the number reported above 1,317, be taken as accurate (it was probably low, as seven parishes were unreported) the proportion of churchmen was only 1 out of every 583 of the population, counting, however, children as well as adults. The extensive work with negroes, referred to throughout the Diocesan Journals, from the first in 1826, and intensified after the arrival of Bishop Green, consisted chiefly, in the case of adults, in a preliminary instruction and administration of baptism, followed by a period of thorough teaching preceding confirmation, which might be deferred several years. Thus, in spite of widespread attention to the spiritual needs of the blacks, the number of those confirmed by 1860 was not large. The number of negroes baptized yearly was up to 434 by 1860, but the entire number of negro communicants was only 162.¹² There was thus evident a real interest in the development of the negroes, together with the desire to see that full church membership should come only to those trained and able to receive it.

In spite of the numerical weakness of the Church in Mississippi, and the South generally, it has been well said that "its historic position and its influence . . . gave it a position of importance; and . . . the character, social antecedents, intelligence, and wealth of its members assured it of public consideration far out of proportion to its numerical strength."¹³

On Christmas Day, 1860, the Bishop was completing a decade of service in a peaceful and growing diocese, the number of parishes, priests, and communicants had doubled under his careful ministrations, and, in spite of the uncertainty of political affairs, it must have been with a thankful heart and soul that he was able "on this blessed festival

⁸*Journal*, 1860, pg. 11.

⁹*Ibid.*, pg. 23.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, pg. 12.

¹¹*U. S. Manuscript Census, 1860, Social Statistics, Schedule 6 (8th U. S. Census).*

¹²*Journal*, 1860, facing pg. 80.

¹³*The Church in the Confederate States, Cheshire, pg. 4.*

to unite with the rector and congregation of St. Andrew's Church [Jackson], in celebrating the memorial which our Lord has commanded us to make in remembrance of his blessed passion and precious death."¹⁴

That was Christmas Day. On January 9, 1861, the state "fled the union."¹⁵

The thirty-fifth annual convention of the diocese met in Christ Church, Holly Springs, on April 25, 26, and 27, 1861.¹⁶ There were thirty-three of the clergy present, in addition to the bishop. An indication of the confusion and excitement that had come upon the state with secession is the fact that of sixty-five lay delegates who had been elected only twelve attended.¹⁷ The preceding year, twenty-seven of sixty-nine had appeared at the convention.¹⁸

The bishop presented to the convention the circular sent from Sewanee by Bishops Polk and Elliott, as senior bishops, to all other Southern bishops, asking for a meeting in Montgomery, Alabama, on July 3rd, "to consult upon such matters as may have arisen out of the changes in our civil affairs."¹⁹ The committee to whom the circular was referred approved of the meeting, and a motion to elect delegates and participate therein was adopted. Clerical delegates elected were: The Rev. W. C. Crane, rector at St. Andrew's, Jackson; the Rev. F. A. P. Barnard, rector at Oxford and president of the University of Mississippi; the Rev. Henry Sansom, rector of Grace Church, Canton. Of the laity, the following were chosen: C. C. Shackelford, of Canton; John Duncan, of Jackson; and Jacob Thompson, of Oxford.²⁰

In the bishop's address to the convention he spoke of the circular he had sent to the clergy "requesting them to make certain alterations in the usual Prayers for the President and for Congress, for the purpose of adapting them to the new order of things in our Confederacy. In doing this I was aware of exercising a power nowhere expressly authorized in our canons;—but I was at the same time unconscious of overstepping the bounds of that *sound discretion* allowed to Bishops, as well as other officials, in meeting such extraordinary occasions, as no legislative sagacity can foresee, and for which no laws can adequately provide."²¹

Nor did the convention feel that the bishop had overstepped

¹⁴*Journal*, 1861, pgs. 50-51.

¹⁵*Confederate Mississippi*, Bettersworth, pg. 1.

¹⁶*Journal*, 1861.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, pgs. 3-6.

¹⁸*Journal*, 1860, pgs. 5-6.

¹⁹*Journal*, 1861, pg. 30.

²⁰*Ibid.*, pgs. 30-31.

²¹*Ibid.*, pg. 64.

the bounds. The Standing Committee concurred, and the convention resolved unanimously: "that the convention approve of the alterations in the usual prayers for the President, and for Congress, made by the bishop, and heartily thank him for the forms of prayer which he has set forth, and for his promptness in providing them; as we think, in the exercise of a sound discretion."²²

The attitude of the bishop, and it may be assumed of the more temperate and thoughtful members of the diocese, was clearly expressed at the conclusion of his pastoral to the convention, when he said:

"However painful may have been the struggle in severing the national bonds which have hitherto united us as one people, *the deed is done*; and, as we believe, *with good cause*, and with *no thought of undoing it*. Our duty then, as patriot-churchmen, is not only to pray for the new government and rulers under whose authority we this day find ourselves, but to uphold with heart and hand the Constitution and Laws which our representatives have modelled for our guidance and protection . . . let us not, in the fervor of our patriotism, forget that we are Christian men, and yield to feelings of hatred and revenge more than a true love of country calls for at our hands. . . . If ever there was a time when prayer should be fervent and unceasing, that time is the present, when we are threatened with the horrors of a fratricidal war. . . . Let us then, both Clergy and Laity, besiege the throne of grace with our supplications for our country. . . . Let us suppress all bitterness and wrath . . . all envyings and jealousies. . . . Let us, in every way, uphold the law and seek to promote order. So shall we best serve the State, and draw down upon our institutions and people the blessing of Him 'without whom nothing is strong, nothing is holy.' "²³

Had the spirit of the bishop's pastoral been that of those in political authority, there would have been no conflict; there would, indeed, have been no cause for secession. But "bitterness and wrath" had been too long a-smoldering to be put down, and "envyings and jealousies" had over-powered the minds of too many men to be suppressed.

More hopeful were the bishop's remarks on the Church itself. "Whilst the State is thus passing through the fires of a painful revolution, how thankful should we be that the Church is at peace; and that although our political relations toward our brethren with whom we have hitherto so lovingly associated have been severed, no change of name, of government, or national interest, will be able to lessen our affection

²²*Journal, 1861, pg. 11.*

²³*Ibid., pgs. 64-65.*

for them as fellow-members with us of the One, Holy, and Apostolic Communion which is in Christ our Lord. If a separate and independent ecclesiastical organization shall be demanded . . . it will exhibit to the world a division without dissension, a separation without injury to the respective parts, a parting of brothers amid tears of affection, and a mutual commending of each other to God."²⁴

Still remote from the actualities of war and its effect on the lives and souls of men, the committee on the state of the Church handed in to the convention a calm and trustful report, saying, in part: "When God waketh up to disturb the nations, we know that he means to separate the evil from the good; and that at such time of all others He requires His own purchased people to be strong . . . trusting to His wisdom out of the whirlwind to bring a calm . . . making His Church with her holy teaching to the world, what the ark of old was to the flood—the savior of those within her enclosure."²⁵ The author of the report, the Rev. Dr. G. B. Perry, of Trinity parish, Natchez, undoubtedly had need to recall these words in the fall of 1864, when harassed in the performance of his priestly duties by Northern military rule, at Natchez, he was forced to appeal to friends and fellow-clergy in the United States for protection.²⁶

In spite of the clouds of revolution gathering on the horizon, no war had yet begun, and for the most part in the diocese, throughout 1861, continued the steady growth that was the fruit of good organization, ample resources, and faithful ministration. Two new parishes were represented at the Holly Springs convention: Grace Church, Carrolton; and St. Stephen's, Panola [now Batesville]²⁷ The number reported confirmed, 229, was eighteen above that of 1860, and the 52 negroes included, increased by approximately one-third the total number of colored communicants.²⁸ The committee on diocesan schools found St. Thomas' Hall, Holly Springs; Trinity Female Seminary, on the Gulf Coast at Pass Christian; Rose Gates College, Okolona; and Wilson Hall, near Holly Springs; all in successful operation, and that there was agitation for the erection of "an Institution of the first rank for young Ladies, near the City of Jackson."²⁹ Plans were under way for church buildings for parishes in Hinds County (Church of the Redemption), at Brandon, and at Meridian, at which latter place the Rev. Geo. Stewart, missionary, declared that he had secured \$700 and "a very beautiful plan of a church, from Henry Congdon,

²⁴*Journal*, 1861, pg. 35.

²⁵*Ibid.*, pg. 20.

²⁶*Confederate Mississippi*, *Betttersworth.*, pg. 373.

²⁷*Journal*, 1861, pgs. 3-6.

²⁸*Ibid.*, page 62.

²⁹*Ibid.*, pgs. 23-24.

of New York City," which would cost \$2,000, and that "this work would have been begun before this but for the present state of our country."³⁰ St. James' Church, Port Gibson, of which the Rev. Charles B. Dana was rector, likewise reported that "in consequence of the disturbed condition of the country, and the stringency in its monetary affairs, it has been deemed expedient to postpone, for the present, the erection of the church, (for which an amount nearly sufficient has been subscribed)."³¹

Except in the year 1864, the diocesan convention continued to meet annually during the war. The war itself did not reach the soil of Mississippi until the bloody battle of Shiloh, April 6, 1862, was fought as Grant drove southward in his efforts to divide the Confederacy.³² On the 24th of the same month, the thirty-sixth annual convention of the diocese was held in St. Andrew's Church, Jackson.³³ In the year that had elapsed since the previous meeting at Holly Springs, the bishop and delegates had attended the meetings of the Southern dioceses at Montgomery, in July, and at Columbia, S. C., in October, where the machinery for continuing the Episcopal Church in the Confederacy had been set up.³⁴

The convention at Jackson immediately resolved that the constitution drawn up at Columbia for the Church in the Confederacy be ratified, and passed an amendment to the diocesan constitution inserting "the Confederate States" for "the United States" in the constitution and canons.³⁵

The general condition of the diocese had been good during the year. The number of clergy had increased from thirty-three to thirty-six.³⁶ The number confirmed had risen from 229 to 250.³⁷ The committee on the state of the church seemed well-pleased, and reported that they found "many encouraging indications of improvement." And they spoke of "the increase in the number of those who have received the rites of baptism and confirmation, together with the additions to the clergy of the diocese."³⁸

Yet there were signs that the war was beginning to close in on the diocese. Less than half the clergy were able to attend the conven-

³⁰*Journal*, 1861, pgs. 51 and 87.

³¹*Ibid.*, pg. 76.

³²*Confederate Military History*, Vol. VII, Mississippi (hereafter referred to as C. M. H.) page 44.

³³*Journal*, 1867 (containing an abstract of the convention proceedings for the war years), pg. 36.

³⁴*The Church in The Confederacy*, Cheshire, pgs. 35-ff.

³⁵*Journal*, 1867, pg. 37.

³⁶*Ibid.*, pg. 43.

³⁷*Ibid.*, pg. 42.

³⁸*Ibid.*, pg. 36.

tion, and only the parishes at Vicksburg, Canton, Kirkwood, Oxford, Holly Springs, Jackson, and the Chapel of the Cross, Madison County, were represented by lay delegates.³⁹ Bishop Green reported that of the four diocesan schools, only Wilson Hall, the newest and least of them all, was still able to operate in view of the confusion and uncertainty of the times.⁴⁰

The matter of finances that was to plague the Confederacy, which was long on cotton but short on gold, had begun already to worry the diocese. The bishop in his address spoke of the need for funds, particularly for diocesan missions, where the new and weaker work of the Church might be permanently crippled if not supported. "I am fully aware," he said, "of the pecuniary difficulty under which our people are at the present laboring; but I know also that few of them have as yet come up to that full measure of self-denial and liberality in giving, demanded by the present exigency of the Church. . . . Let not the flame of our devotion then be less ardent, or our offering upon the Church altar less costly, because, for our sins, the noise of war is heard in our land."⁴¹

The convention of 1863 also met at Jackson, on April 23rd, in the words of Bishop Green, "Amidst the continued alarms of war, and the general suffering of our people."⁴²

With Vicksburg as the ultimate goal, more and more of the state was being over-run by the conflict. There had been fighting on the coast; while on the west the Federal fleet dominated the Mississippi, except for the forts around Vicksburg, Natchez itself having been briefly occupied. But it was north Mississippi that had suffered the most; much of it was in the hands of Grant, and many towns and plantations had been wholly or partly destroyed.⁴³ In December, 1862, President Davis had come to the state, addressing the legislature and a large crowd of citizens, in an effort to obtain still greater sacrifices for the Confederacy.⁴⁴ Even as the convention took its seat in Jackson, Grant was moving a considerable part of his army around the Vicksburg forts to the country below, beginning the campaign that was to result in the destruction of Jackson and the occupation of Vicksburg.⁴⁵

The convention was even smaller than that of 1862, as only thirteen clergy, in addition to the bishop, were present, and but five of the forty-four parishes in the diocese were represented by lay delegates.⁴⁶

³⁹*Journal*, 1867, pg. 36.

⁴⁰*Ibid.*, pg. 43.

⁴¹*Ibid.*, pg. 44.

⁴²*Ibid.*, pg. 45.

⁴³*C. M. H.*, Chs. VI and VII.

⁴⁴*Ibid.*, pg. 101.

⁴⁵*Ibid.*, pg. 135-ff.

⁴⁶*Journal*, 1867, pg. 44.

Most of the white males of the state were in the army.⁴⁷ In spite of the increasing seriousness of the military and political situation, or, perhaps, because of it, the incomplete picture of the life of the Church given by the twenty-two parishes reporting caused the committee on the state of the church some gratification.⁴⁸ Bishop Green reported that he had been kept by the presence of the enemy from visiting twelve organized parishes, "as well as several smaller ones."⁴⁹ Yet confirmations were 219, of whom thirty-nine were slaves⁵⁰—a drop of thirty-one. Contributions were down from \$11,708 to \$6,570.⁵¹

Feeling, perhaps, that the increasing strength of the forces centered on Vicksburg was bound to affect the situation at Jackson, only fifty miles to the east, the convention adjourned to meet the next year at Columbus, in the northeastern part of the state.⁵²

However, the convention of 1864 was the one meeting of the Church in the diocese which the war prevented. On April 28, 1864, the bishop wrote in his Journal, "This was the day on which our diocesan Council⁵³ was to meet in Columbus. But in consideration of the broken condition of our principal railroads, the general want of private conveyances, the absence from the diocese of many of the clergy as well as laity, and the occupation of a large portion of the State by the forces of the enemy, I took upon me the responsibility of postponing the time of our meeting to some future day when we might assemble with less to hinder and to make us afraid."⁵⁴

When the convention of 1865 met in Jackson, on May 4th,⁵⁵ it must have been apparent to all that the days of the Confederacy were numbered. In January, Nathan B. Forrest had been put in command of Confederate forces in the state, as well as in parts of Tennessee and Louisiana; but it was too late for even that indomitable campaigner to create an army, where there were no men, or to arm, feed, and equip the few troops he had, from a state and Confederacy well-nigh bankrupt.⁵⁶ The armies of Grant and Sherman had swept forward and backward over the state, until there was little of military importance left to interest the Federal army and few of the Southern forces available

⁴⁷*Journal*, 1867, pgs. 63-64.

⁴⁸*Ibid.*, pg. 45.

⁴⁹*Ibid.*, pg. 51.

⁵⁰*Ibid.*, pgs. 45 and 51.

⁵¹*Ibid.*, pg. 45.

⁵²*Ibid.*, pg. 52.

⁵³One of the changes in the new constitution of the Confederate Church was to use the word council instead of convention. See *Cheshire's Church in the Confederacy*, pages 42-43.

⁵⁴*Journal*, 1867, pg. 56.

⁵⁵*Ibid.*, pg. 52.

⁵⁶*C. M. H.*, pgs. 223-ff.

to contend with them for it. And in Virginia, in April, Lee had surrendered at Appomattox.

In addition to the bishop, only eight clergy attended, and Jackson, Kirkwood, Brandon, Oxford, and Canton, alone were represented by lay delegates.⁵⁷ Twelve out of thirty-three clergymen canonically resident in the diocese were engaged in parochial duties, others had been forced to leave, to enter other work to support themselves, or were in the army.⁵⁸ The committee on the state of the Church deemed it "a cause of thankfulness to God that any of the clergy have been permitted to continue their ministrations."⁵⁹

Resolutions were passed referring to the deaths of Bishop Otey, who had served as provisional bishop of Mississippi and as first Chancellor of the University of the South, and of Bishop Polk, who had likewise served the diocese of Mississippi, before the coming of Bishop Green.⁶⁰

Aware, doubtless, of the imminence of the war's closing, the Rev. Dr. Thomas Savage⁶¹ in his report for the committee on the state of the Church wrote, "Though the cords of our Zion have not been lengthened, nor her stakes strengthened, during our present national struggle, yet she has been able to bear aloft, without wavering, under the Great Captain of salvation the banner of His Cross, and proclaim aloud to a wicked world, that the Lord is King, and will yet reign over Nations as He now reigns over Saints."⁶²

In November, Bishop Green attended the General Council at Augusta, Georgia, dissolving the organization of the Confederate Church, and giving each diocese liberty "to unite itself with any other Church organization which it might choose."⁶³ Bishop Green expressed the hope to the Mississippi convention of 1866, held in Jackson, in May, "that the very first act of this convention will be to return to that union with the 'Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States' from which it has been severed for the last five or six years by the force of political circumstances."⁶⁴

This the convention, consisting of seven clergy and the bishop,

⁵⁷*Journal*, 1867, pg. 52.

⁵⁸*Ibid.*, pg. 53.

⁵⁹*Ibid.*

⁶⁰*Ibid.*, pgs. 52-53.

⁶¹The Rev. Dr. Savage was one of the most interesting men ever to serve the diocese. He had been one of the first missionaries to the Episcopal mission in Liberia, and in Africa had discovered and named the gorilla (See article Gorilla, *Encyclopedia Britannica*), and in Mississippi had been a leader in developing diocesan schools, being forced by the war to relinquish his school at Pass Christian.

⁶²*Journal*, 1867, pg. 53.

⁶³*Ibid.*, pg. 65.

⁶⁴*Ibid.*

and lay delegates from Jackson, Oxford, Canton, and parish of the Redemption, Hinds County, did, in the following resolution: "Inasmuch as the causes which led to the withdrawal of the diocese of Mississippi from its ecclesiastical union, in a legislative capacity, with the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, no longer exist, therefore . . . our former relations with the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States are hereby renewed."⁶⁵

Due to the few members attending the conventions of 1865 and 1866, no diocesan statistics were given for those years in the *Abstracts* published with the proceedings of 1867. However the *Abstracts* give some clue as to the state of affairs. Bishop Green in his address to the convention of 1866, spoke of "the kind and cordial greeting" received from the "brethren" of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States,⁶⁶ and explained that he asked for the resolution restoring the diocese to its former connection with the Church in the United States, "to show the world that the Holy Catholic Church of Christ, however separated by political boundaries, is still *one*."⁶⁷ Northern dioceses were giving "liberal aid" in helping to restore the work of the Church in the South.⁶⁸

That there was still active Church life and spirit in the diocese is shown by the fact that the bishop reported "12 to 15 parishes and missions" calling on him, in 1866, for the services of a minister."⁶⁹ Yet the prospect was not a happy one, for he said, "The reduced number of our clergy, the destruction of some of our churches, the robbery and defacement of others, the general impoverishment of our people, and the total ruin of many, joined to the complicated claims, the embittered feelings, and the disregard of moral obligation naturally growing out of a protracted war; all this, with other causes . . . has thrown our Church several years back."⁷⁰

The poverty which the war brought to the diocese was one of the greatest burdens it had to bear. Whereas, in 1861, as already mentioned, the parishes had paid the diocese \$3,273.23, in the one year; the total amount available from parishes to pay the bishop's salary and other expenses, from 1861 to the convention of 1865, was only \$2,-320.19.⁷¹ Some parishes had paid money to the bishop directly, on his visits during the war, yet the treasurer, in 1867, calculated that the diocese was behind on that item alone, \$2,037.70.⁷² In 1868, out of 45

⁶⁵*Journal, 1867, pgs. 62-63.*

⁶⁶*Ibid., pg. 64.*

⁶⁷*Ibid.*

⁶⁸*Ibid., pg. 70.*

⁶⁹*Ibid., pg. 69.*

⁷⁰*Ibid., pg. 64.*

⁷¹*Ibid., pg. 3.*

⁷²*Ibid.*

parishes assessed by the diocese, only 19 paid anything, and only 6 were able to pay in full.⁷³

Not only was the salary of the bishop paid irregularly and in part, but in Sherman's destruction of Jackson, on the way to Vicksburg, his home was burned. "Everything belonging to him of earthly goods was at the same time destroyed. Every article of furniture in the house, and what was prized much more highly by him, his large and valuable library . . . was, in a few moments destroyed by the torch and he was left houseless and homeless—a wanderer through the diocese."⁷⁴

Throughout the war, however, the bishop continued his travelling over the diocese, going where he could, and by whatever means were available. Bishop Green's Journals for the war years are complete, and give in the best possible way a picture of the man and the times.

On June 20, 1861, the bishop set out from Jackson for Montgomery and the convention called by Bishops Polk and Otey. At Mobile, "and several other places in Alabama," the bishop officiated in his episcopal capacity, in the absence of a bishop in that Diocese. In September, he returned to Alabama on the invitation of the Standing Committee of that diocese, and he writes :

"In this work I was laboriously engaged until the meeting of our adjourned convention, in Columbia, South Carolina, on the 16th of October. During the ten days previous to that time I was occupied with the committee appointed in preparing a Constitution and Canons for the action of the Convention. . . . The Constitution which was there formed and proposed . . . I cordially approve. Whilst . . . I cannot but deeply regret that in giving a name or title to our new organization, one had not been chosen expressive of our Apostolic and Catholic character, in the place of that which seemingly ranks us as one among the many sects. . . . If any form or phase of Christianity on this Continent deserves the name of Catholic, or American Catholic, it is our own Anti-Roman, Anti-Sectarian Branch of Christ's Church."⁷⁵

At the mission Church of the Messiah, Shuqulak, located near the Alabama line, in the central part of the state, on December 8th, after the bishop had "preached, administered the Holy Communion, and baptized one child," he found, "that the disturbed condition of the country had withdrawn a large portion of the people from their homes," so he left his visiting and returned to Jackson.⁷⁶ At Panola [Batesville],

⁷³*Journal*, 1868, *pgs.* 32-33.

⁷⁴*Journal*, 1867, *pg.* 14-15.

⁷⁵*Ibid.*, *pg.* 38-ff.

⁷⁶*Ibid.*, *pg.* 40.

March 22, 1862, the bishop wrote, "At this place, as in most others, on this visitation, I found all things pertaining to the public worship of God compelled to yield, in a great measure, to the sterner calls of a less spiritual warfare."⁷⁷

Yet to the convention in April, Bishop Green was able to report, "Every organized parish, except one, has been visited; and several of them more than once. A few smaller places I have purposely omitted, knowing that the general excitement attendant on a state of war would, in a great measure, render fruitless any attempt to win attention to the gentler calls of the Gospel."⁷⁸

In the preceding December, Bishop Green reported he had declined to answer a letter from the Presiding Bishop of the Church in the United States, asking consent to the consecration of the assistant bishop of Pennsylvania, "not from any reluctance to testify to the worthiness of the Rev. Dr. Stevens, but because I considered our Confederate Church as *virtually* separated from that of the United States."⁷⁹ To the consecration of Bishop Wilmer of Alabama, he gave his "hearty consent."

In October, 1862, on a visit to Clinton, the bishop was forced to officiate in a school-room, "our own place of worship, as well as others, being filled with our sick soldiers."⁸⁰

On the way to the General Council at Augusta, in November, the bishop again stopped to do work in Alabama. "Owing to a want of connection between railroads and stages," he arrived a day late to the Council, and the next morning "was prostrated by a severe attack of pneumonia," which kept him in bed for two weeks and away from the meetings of the Council. He did not reach home until December 13th, and then "in feeble health."⁸¹

March 26, 1863, found the bishop in the Natchez country, at Christ Church, Church Hill, the oldest parish in the diocese. There he and the congregation joined in a day of national fasting, as requested by President Davis, and the bishop wrote, "I cannot refrain from expressing my thankfulness to Almighty God, the Ruler of Nations, for having raised up for us, in the hour of our need, a chief magistrate as manly in piety as he is sage in council, and valorous in arms. Among the many omens which have cheered our people in their present unequal struggle, none has so affected the heart of your bishop as the intelligence that our worthy President had openly professed his faith in

⁷⁷*Journal*, 1867, p*g.* 42.

⁷⁸*Ibid.*, p*gs.* 42-43.

⁷⁹*Ibid.*, p*g.* 44.

⁸⁰*Ibid.*, p*g.* 48.

⁸¹*Ibid.*, p*g.* 49.

Christ, and laid himself with all his honors at His feet."⁸² As is well known, Mr. Davis, although baptized and reared in the Church, was not confirmed until the war years, in St. Paul's, Richmond.

The next month, April 17th, Bishop Green was at Vicksburg. He noted that :

"The progress of this parish has been much impeded by the state of siege and of constant alarm in which the town has been kept during a large portion of the past year. Although the Church has been open for the greater part of the time, and the attendance larger than usual, it has consisted chiefly of the officers and soldiers engaged in defence of the place. It is but reasonable to expect that a Church thus situated should share in the general stagnation or state of suspension imposed by this war on business of every kind. No place nor employment afforded security from the missiles of the enemy. Their bombshells greeted my entrance into the town, and continued during the three days of my visitation. During my stay I baptized, Saturday, 18th, an infant for one of the officers of our army."⁸³

On Thursday, May 14th, three weeks after the diocesan convention at Jackson, the forces of Grant and Sherman moved into that city from the south and southwest. On that day the bishop was at his home on the westward side of town, and he thus tells of the occasion :

"As my residence was immediately in front of the fortifications thrown up for the defence of the city, and was likely to receive the missiles of friends as well as foes, I left it when the roar of musketry indicated that my peaceful home was in a few moments to be converted into a field of battle. My thresholds, it is true, were spared the stain of blood ; but theft and ravage, and wanton destruction marked every room in the house, and every article on the premises. My own books and papers received much injury ; but I am happy in being able to state that every record of the least importance to the Diocese had been carefully kept out of the way of these destroyers. May God forgive them for all the evil which they did during the two memorable days which they spent amongst us."⁸⁴

After the Union army moved on toward Vicksburg, the bishop returned, and Sunday, May 31st, he "preached to the sick and wounded soldiers in a large room of the hospital near my residence."⁸⁵ He

⁸²*Journal*, 1867, pg. 50.

⁸³*Ibid.*, pg. 50.

⁸⁴*Ibid.*, pgs. 53-54.

⁸⁵*Ibid.*, pg. 54.

preached to the soldiers again on June 7th and 14th. On July 6th, he was prevented from a visit to the Chapel of the Cross, Madison County, fifteen miles to the north, but that week "was compelled a second time to fly from . . . home before the approaching enemy, and seek a temporary refuge within the city." The next morning, amidst the roar of battle, and under a shower of shot and shell he set out with his family for Alabama. Several weeks were passed in Alabama, at Demopolis, with Mrs. Gaius Whitfield, during which time the bishop officiated in that diocese "frequently." Thence he returned to Oktibbeha County, Mississippi, and on November 1st, to Columbus, where he maintained his home for the duration of the war.⁸⁶

November 18th, Bishop Green visited Holly Springs, and he writes, "Five days were spent in this parish among the remnant of a late prosperous people. The footsteps of a barbarous foe might be traced in almost every dwelling, as well as in the resorts of business, and in the institutions of learning. Amidst these marks of a more than savage warfare it was hardly to be expected that the most sacred things or places would escape their violence. I was not, therefore, surprised to find that our place of worship had shared largely in the general ruin. Although much had been done before my arrival to cleanse it from the pollutions [*sic*] of the enemy, and to place it in a serviceable condition, it was still a place of small comfort to the little flock that clung to its altar, and hovered around their faithful Pastor."⁸⁷

Going from Holly Springs to La Grange, Tennessee, to visit a sister, the bishop was impressed by "the courtesy and even kindness of the Federal commander in charge of that place. Not only was free ingress and egress tendered to me, but permission granted to visit any of our parishes within the bounds of his command."⁸⁸ The bishop's plans to return to Early Grove, in the vicinity of Holly Springs, on the 29th, were of necessity changed "on the advice of friends" regarding "the lawless character of the enemy's troops in that immediate neighborhood."

In February, 1864, Bishop Green wrote:

"Having been favored by the commander of the enemy's forces then in possession of Vicksburg, with permission to visit any of the Parishes within the Federal lines, I set out on Saturday the 6th of February, to make my annual visitation of the counties lying on the river. On reaching Meridian I learned that the enemy, in full force were rapidly advancing on

⁸⁶*Journal*, 1867.

⁸⁷*Ibid.*, pg. 55.

⁸⁸*Ibid.*

that place. I deemed it prudent, therefore, to return home, and wait a more auspicious moment."⁸⁹

Sunday, May 22nd, he preached in Jackson, in the Senate chamber of the Capitol, which had "been kindly allowed for the use of the congregation since their Church was destroyed by the enemy."⁹⁰

Proceeding to Vicksburg, the bishop wrote :

"Wednesday, May 30th, I entered Vicksburg then in possession of the Federal authorities, and remained five days, during which time I visited all the Church families remaining in the place, and preached on Sunday, June 5th. Although I found most of the members of the Congregation in a depressed condition, it was no little gratification to see that the Church building remained in charge of its trusty old sexton, and was kept in its usual neat and orderly condition, whilst almost every other place of worship had been abused and polluted at the hands of the enemy. I feel bound to acknowledge here the courtesy with which I was treated during my stay, by the commanding general and his officers."⁹¹

Bishop Green was again in Jackson on June 13th, planning a trip through the southern part of his diocese when he was summoned by letter to Augusta, Georgia, for a meeting of the committee on the revision of the Prayer Book, set for June 22nd. He attended that meeting, which adjourned to meet again in December, at Savannah. While at Augusta, he took part in the funeral services for Bishop Polk. And, on Sunday, July 3rd, wrote in his journal that the day "together with the two preceding days, was spent with our army near Marietta. I was on that day to have confirmed two of our leading generals, but owing to the army's having fallen back on the day preceding, it was necessarily postponed."⁹²

In September, Friday the 16th, marked the observance of another of the days of "fasting, humiliation and prayer . . . in view of the critical condition of our country."⁹³ And in October, on the 2nd, was dedicated the only church building of the war, the Church of the Saviour, Osyka.⁹⁴

Of a visit to the parishes at Woodville and Natchez, in October, the bishop writes :

⁸⁹*Journal*, pg. 56.

⁹⁰*Ibid.*

⁹¹*Ibid.*, pg. 57.

⁹²*Ibid.*

⁹³*Ibid.*

⁹⁴*Ibid.*, pg. 58.

"Reached Woodville on Saturday, 8th, a few hours after the departure of a large raiding party [party] of the enemy. Visited several families in the afternoon . . . [October 13th] I entered Natchez, then garrisoned by a considerable force of the enemy. It was with difficulty that I gained admittance, but I must acknowledge the kind treatment which I received from the commanding general, after getting in. During the five days which I spent in the city, every facility was allowed me for the prosecution of my work. Most of the families in the place, and neighborhood were visited as usual. It was truly painful to witness their oppressed and impoverished condition, and the system of espionage to which they were so hourly subjected. But most of all was I grieved and mortified to see the scattered and dispirited state of that once flourishing congregation."⁹⁵

On Wednesday, November 16th, and on Friday, March 10, 1865, were observed two more days of prayer and fasting at the request of President Davis. Bishop Green was ill on the former date, and "was glad to engage for the occasion, the services of the Rev. Dr. Quintard, who was making a brief sojourn to Columbus."⁹⁶

Finally, with the exhausted forces of the Confederacy making their last desperate stand and the collapse of the Southern cause seemingly immediate and inevitable, Bishop Green stood before the diocesan convention on May 4, 1865, meeting in the city hall at Jackson, and said:

"We are met together at this time, brethren, in the midst of circumstances well calculated to humiliate as well as sadden our hearts. The ruthless invaders of our rights, and murderers of our sons seem about to be permitted, in the inscrutable providence of God, to fasten their yoke upon us. . . . But, beloved brethren, though we seem destined to be robbed of all else besides, there cannot be taken from us the consciousness that both, as clergy and laity, we have stood by our country from the beginning to the end of her noble struggle. Our duty now is, to bow as well as we can to what seems to be the present will of Him who holds in His hands the destinies of empires . . . let us try to withdraw our thoughts from the blood and rapine, and desolation that marks our land, and pray for the forgiveness of those who are rioting in the midst of the ruin they have created. . . . Our time is short, and fast hastening to an end. Let the things that now concern us so sorely, be as though they concerned us not. Wait patiently upon the

⁹⁵*Journal*, 1867, pg. 58.

⁹⁶*Ibid.*, pg. 59.

Lord, and he will bring it to pass. With my whole heart I commend you and my country to His guardian care."⁹⁷

On the same day the "last important surrender of the great war was made at Citronelle, Alabama," by General Richard Taylor, who had been joined by Forrest to make a little army of 8,000 men await the outcome of events in the east.⁹⁸ Thus the Confederacy died, and with it the Confederate Church.

As the Bishop's journals indicate, it had been a hard time for him. Never a strong man, the difficulties of ministering to a sprawling diocese, chiefly rural, in war-time, over-run by the enemies' forces and by brigands of no loyalty to either side, forced to travel by any conveyance at hand and in any kind of weather—all that would have been enough to break the heart of a lesser man, lacking the bishop's unlimited faith in the inevitable victory of Christ and His Church. Yet the bishop did not falter.

Adding to the difficulties of maintaining regular Church life in the diocese during the war, was the fact that many of the clergy enlisted in the army or were forced for one reason or another to leave their parishes. The Rev. M. Leander Weller, missionary at Hernando and Panola, and chaplain of the Ninth Mississippi Infantry,⁹⁹ was killed at Shiloh.¹⁰⁰ The Rev. Thomas Pickett, who was rector at Holly Springs after January, 1862, was away "a part of two summers in rendering service as chaplain in the armies of Generals Braxton Bragg and Joseph E. Johnston", and was with Johnston's retreat from Dalton to Atlanta.¹⁰¹ The Rev. Edward Fontaine, priest at Raymond and at the Church of the Redemption, Hinds county, enlisted and achieved the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel.¹⁰² Others who enlisted were the Rev. John Charles Adams, Woodville,¹⁰³ and the Rev. Frederick Elwell, of Brandon and Clinton.¹⁰⁴ Others of the clergy were with the soldiers in camp or at hospitals much of the time, although not actually enrolled as chaplains, notably the Rev. F. W. Damus, Vicksburg,¹⁰⁵ and the Rev. Benjamin Miller, Church Hill.¹⁰⁶

So great was the movement of the parish clergy, that of the thirty-

⁹⁷*Journal*, 1867, pg. 62.

⁹⁸*C. M. H.*, pgs. 226 and 229.

⁹⁹*Mississippi Official and Statistical Register*, 1908, pg. 582.

¹⁰⁰*Journal*, 1867, pg. 43.

¹⁰¹*Autobiography of Rev. James Thomas Pickett, unpublished, uncataloged ms., Diocesan Library, Jackson, Miss.*, pg. 8.

¹⁰²*Staff Officers of the Confederate Army, Government Printing Office, Washington*, 1891, pg. 55.

¹⁰³*Journal*, 1867, pg. 43.

¹⁰⁴*Ibid.*, pg. 51.

¹⁰⁵*Ibid.*

¹⁰⁶*Ibid.*, pg. 43.

three priests listed in 1861 as resident in the Diocese, twenty-one had left their churches by 1867, and actually only eight parishes had the same rectors at the end of the war that they had had at the beginning—and of those eight, none had enjoyed uninterrupted ministrations during that time. In 1863, Bishop Green reported to his convention that, “Our present list of clergy members is thirty-seven; but I am grieved to add that not more than two-thirds of them are actively and efficiently engaged in parochial labor.”¹⁰⁷

In addition to the clergy directly connected with the army, the Rev. George C. Harris was asked by Governor Charles Clarke, in September 1864, to arrange a meeting in Jackson of persons interested in the education and support of the orphans of Confederate soldiers. Bishop Green became chairman of the group when it met, and the result was considerable attention to the needs of those unfortunates.¹⁰⁸

The portions of the bishop's journals already given indicate the course and hardships of episcopal ministrations during the war period, while in the same journals, and in the reports of the parochial clergy and elsewhere, is ample evidence of the impact of the conflict on parish life.

Much of the Church life was of necessity carried on wherever the army happened to be, as the greater part of the male communicant strength was in the army. The bishop himself had three sons who enlisted.¹⁰⁹ On Thursday, October 16th, 1863, the bishop visited a hospital at Lauderdale Springs, “containing more than a thousand sick and wounded soldiers”, and preached on two days to them, adapting his discourse “to that train of thought most familiar to their minds.”¹¹⁰ On the 19th, at Marion Depot, he preached to soldiers again.

In April, of 1864, the bishop wrote in his *Journal*:

“In my own parlor I baptized and confirmed a soldier in the cavalry service, who had for some time earnestly desired thus to dedicate himself to God, and thankfully availed himself, for that purpose, of the few moments allowed to him as he passed through the place. The next day, 15th, he returned, bringing with him one of his fellow soldiers, whom I, in like manner, by baptism and confirmation admitted to the fellowship of Christ and His Church.”¹¹¹

Church property suffered everywhere in the diocese, whether simply through the neglect of poverty and the distractions of the time, as at Yazoo City, where the church building was pulled down as unsafe for

¹⁰⁷*Journal*, 1867, pg. 51.

¹⁰⁸*Confederate Mississippi*, Bettersworth, pgs. 335-337.

¹⁰⁹*Journal*, 1867, pg. 39.

¹¹⁰*Ibid.*, pg. 48.

¹¹¹*Ibid.*, pg. 56.

want of funds to restore it,¹¹² or, as at Jackson, where the church, as already mentioned, was burned by Northern troops. The war had hardly touched Mississippi when St. Paul's parish, Woodville, sent its bell off to Beauregard to be melted into cannon.¹¹³ At Holly Springs the Church was used as a stable by Union soldiers, the overturned altar serving as a trough in which to feed the horses, and the pipes of the organ used in leading a parade through the town.¹¹⁴ At Grand Gulf, Church life was ended altogether when "the town was entirely destroyed by the U. S. Army."¹¹⁵ In the minute-book of Christ Church parish, Church Hill, is a note indicating that services there were interrupted for most of the war, and that the building, in 1864, "was entered by a band of Yankee ruffians belonging to an Illinois regiment stationed at Natchez, who danced in the chancel, played lewd songs on the organ and wound up their sacrilege by stealing a part of the silver plate composing the communion service."¹¹⁶

In 1868, Bishop Green found St. Alban's Church, Bovina, "once beautiful indeed, but with nothing now to mark the spot but a heap of mouldering and broken stones,"¹¹⁷ and at Okolona he was forced to preach in a Methodist building "as ours has not yet recovered from the disastrous effects of the late war."¹¹⁸ St. John's Church, Lake Washington, likewise was "unfit to be occupied, having been so thoroughly defaced and defiled during the late war,"¹¹⁹ and to make matters worse the bishop, while clambering over the ruins, fell, and broke his arm. At Raymond, too, the bishop was forced to partake of hospitality offered by brethren of the Methodist flock in the use of their building, St. Mark's Church having been "robbed of its benches whilst used as a hospital."¹²⁰

Dr. Charles B. Dana, at Natchez, in 1866, found the parish "greatly depressed", with "many families . . . removed to other parts of the country, or . . . residing in Europe, while of these who remained in the city, comparatively few could do much to sustain the Church, and many had ceased altogether to attend."¹²¹ However, at Natchez, a quarrel between the parishioners and the previous rector had done as much as the war to set the parish back.¹²²

¹¹²*Journal*, 1867, pg. 60.

¹¹³*Parish Register*, entry of March 26, 1862.

¹¹⁴*The Church News*, Brandon, Miss., June, 1939.

¹¹⁵*Parish Register*, March 26, 1861.

¹¹⁶*Parish Register*, entry June 3, 1865.

¹¹⁷*Journal*, 1868, pg. 21.

¹¹⁸*Journal*, 1869, pg. 22.

¹¹⁹*Journal*, 1870, pg. 17.

¹²⁰*Journal*, 1867, pg. 19.

¹²¹*Ibid.*, pg. 26.

¹²²*Ibid.*, especially pages 58 and 65.

At Aberdeen, the congregation was scattered, and the church property "sadly out of repair."¹²³ The building at Corinth had been destroyed,¹²⁴ but by 1867, a new building, "22 x 40", had been built for \$800.¹²⁵ In 1866, a house belonging to the Baptists had been fitted up at Yazoo City as a church, for there "nothing was left of a once well-organized parish but the altar, Bible and Prayer Book, and plated communion service. The church and organ had been destroyed. The parish register has not yet been found."¹²⁶

Probably no place reported a gloomier situation than that of the parish of the Redemption, Hinds county:

"The families now all live between three and four miles from the place of worship, which was a small log house built during the war for temporary use. . . . The wretchedness of the roads, the want of conveyances, the absolute necessity of remaining at home to guard their homes from theft and robbery made the attendance of the few left in the desolated neighborhood very small and irregular. . . . This is one of the dark and desolate spots left in the destroying track of the armies of the United States, almost a wilderness, where in 1860, the fair and fertile region teemed with abundance, and a happy and contented population lived ignorant of oppression and want. White and black are now familiar with both."¹²⁷

Reference has been made to the fact that, in 1861, there were four schools over the state, in operation by the diocese, and a fifth in prospect, but these were all cut off by the war. Of that loss the bishop wrote in his journal, "Among the many evils which a desolating war brought upon our people there was none more sensibly felt than the breaking up of our schools."¹²⁸ In 1867, the diocesan committee on schools found no schools in operation under the control or ownership of the diocese, although the Rev. Albert Lyon was conducting as a personal enterprise a school for boys at Chatawa, and the Rev. Dr. Thos. Savage, assisted by the Rev. John Smedes, was doing the same thing at Pass Christian.¹²⁹

No part of the Church's work in the diocese of Mississippi was so grievously set back as the extensive work, long underway, with the negroes. As early as 1842, in the very earliest years of which there is left any diocesan record, Bishop Otey, then serving the diocese, baptized

¹²³*Journal, 1867, pp. 20.*

¹²⁴*Told me by the present rector, the Rev. Chas. G. Hamilton.*

¹²⁵*Journal, 1867, pp. 33.*

¹²⁶*Ibid.*

¹²⁷*Ibid., pp. 31.*

¹²⁸*Ibid., pp. 70.*

¹²⁹*Ibid., pp. 13.*

118 colored persons on the Laurel Hill plantation of Dr. William Mercer, near Natchez.¹³⁰

Dr. Mercer maintained a missionary at Laurel Hill, nearly all of whose time was devoted to negro work. Dr. Thomas Savage had his first charge in the diocese on that plantation, and adjoining ones of Dr. Mercer, and his first report to the diocesan convention of 1848 gives an idea of the methods and extent of the Church's work with the ante-bellum slave:

"The undersigned has under his pastoral charge. . . the negroes on three plantations, belonging to William N. Mercer, Esq., amounting to about four hundred souls. For their benefit he has held two services every Sunday afternoon, and during the week made on an average four visits to the plantations, conversing with the sick and giving such domiciliary instruction as the circumstances would permit. The Bible classes here reported are made up of adults, male and female, on the plantations, and are held immediately after services on Sunday afternoon . . . The Sunday Schools are for the children of the negroes, and are under the charge of Mrs. S. and the wives of the overseers."¹³¹

All plantations were not large enough or wealthy enough to support a resident missionary, but evidences that the same sort of work was general over the diocese are plentiful. From St. John's Church, Lake Washington, in the Delta, where Bishop Green found the Church building destroyed after the war, there came, in 1854, the report that "more than twelve hundred colored persons"¹³² were receiving religious instruction. Yet that was a small, rural parish with only twelve white families.

Bishop Green gave several accounts of his visits to plantations and the work with the slaves:

"Accompanied by Rev. Dr. Perry [Trinity Church, Natchez], I rode to 'La Grange', the residence of Mrs. Charlotte Griffith, eight miles from Natchez. Here I found, as I had two years since, that the faithful and untiring instructions of this lady, and her children, had prepared a number of her slaves for an intelligent and profitable reception of both baptism and confirmation. . . I baptized three infants, and ten adults and confirmed twelve. As on the former occasion, so at this time, was I pleased to see that the 'sponsors' for the infant children, and the 'witnesses' for the adults, were their youthful

¹³¹*Journal*, 1847, pg. 36.

¹³²*Journal*, 1842, pg. 36.

master and mistress. . . . Over such a household the spirit of grace must delight to hover."¹³³

The next day at "Laurel Hill", Dr. Mercer's place, the bishop baptized fifty-four children from one of his plantations.¹³⁴

In the same year, 1860, near Okolona, Bishop Green consecrated St. Cyprian's Chapel and cemetery, built for their slaves by Dr. John E. Tucker and Major Duncan Hubbard.¹³⁵ On May 12th, 1861, in the Deer Creek neighborhood of the Delta, the bishop baptized forty-nine colored children, most of them belonging to William Yerger, Esq.¹³⁶

At the Chapel of the Cross, Madison county, on a Sunday afternoon before the war, the church was crowded, "by a throng of apparently eager listeners and devout worshippers," all colored. The bishop thus describes their participation in the Service:

"Every required response was promptly and correctly made. 'The confession' and 'Lord's prayer' and 'creed' were repeated distinctly and with one voice. And the anthems were chanted with a heartiness that might well put to shame the listless indifference with which many a congregation amongst us leaves that most beautiful and devotional part of our stated worship to a band of hired singers."¹³⁷

In July, 1860, the bishop confirmed twenty-seven slaves at St. Alban's parish, between Jackson and Vicksburg.¹³⁸ And during that year, the negroes on the plantation of Mrs. Raily, in Adams county, gave the Bishop "a handsome private Communion set".¹³⁹

And in 1861, on the eve of the war, the committee on the state of the Church reported that they, "cheerfully join our right reverend father in earnestly urging the obligation the church and masters are under to supply our colored population with proper facilities for their spiritual welfare."¹⁴⁰

As long as the affairs in the state were more or less uninterrupted by the conflict, the work with the negroes continued. On Easter Eve, 1861, fifty-four slaves were confirmed at St. Alban's Church, from T. Vaughn Noland's plantation.¹⁴¹ But with the confusion of conflict and the break-up of normal Church life the training of the colored people in the ways of the Church was hampered.

In 1866, the committee on the relations of the Church to the colored population referred to the "entire change" made in the social and

¹³³*Journal*, 1860, *pgs.* 44-45.

¹³⁴*Ibid.*, *pg.* 45.

¹³⁵*Ibid.*, *pg.* 32.

¹³⁶*Journal*, 37.

¹³⁷*Journal*, 1860, *pg.* 40.

¹³⁸*Ibid.*, *pg.* 57.

¹³⁹*Ibid.*

¹⁴⁰*Journal*, 1861, *pg.* 22.

political status of the colored population, and to their "growing attachment" to the Church, as shown by the steadily increasing number of communicants. Then the committee adds:

"But by the sudden change in their social and political relations, this interesting work has been almost entirely interrupted. The almost universal breaking up of old established relations,—the general disposition exhibited among them to change their locality, and especially to leave the country and collect in large cities . . . together with the unhappy influences of a class of foreign teachers, some of whom appear to make it their peculiar mission to engender in their minds sentiments of suspicion and distrust towards their former masters and spiritual guides—have all had a tendency to break up, in a great degree, their former spiritual relations, and in the excitement of their newly acquired freedom to lead them astray from the Church."¹⁴²

But the committee urged that the Church should not, therefore, throw off her responsibility, and give the negroes over to "the guidance of strangers who are ignorant of their constitution and character, or [leave] them to be led into error and fanaticism by the uninformed and self-appointed teachers of their own race."

The bishop, clergy, and laity did take up again the task of taking the Church to the negro, but as the committee's report indicates, it was an especially difficult task under the circumstances.

Something of the situation can be gleaned from the entry in the bishop's journal, early in 1865:

"I visited Diamond Place [near Vicksburg] on the 11th and 12th [Jan.], but did not preach, as most of the former servants, who had so often and so cordially greeted my arrival, had been enticed from their comfortable homes by their pretended friends. The temporary chapel in which I had so often officiated was a thorough ruin. The altar was overturned, and the only thing that remained entire to tell of its former sacred use, was the motto: 'Holiness to the Lord', which still spanned the broken chancel."¹⁴³

At Woodville, in April, 1866, the bishop addressed the negroes "on the responsibilities which had come upon them through their lately acquired freedom."¹⁴⁴ In 1868, the bishop spoke of the "poverty and suffering to which their imposed freedom had already reduced them," but he rejoiced, "that many of them are beginning to find their best advisers and protectors in their former masters; and are also gradually

¹⁴¹*Journal*, 1861, pg. 42.

¹⁴²*Journal*, 1867, pg. 63.

¹⁴³*Journal*, 1867, pg. 65.

¹⁴⁴*Ibid.*, pg. 67.

returning to the altars of the Church."¹⁴⁵ The year before, the bishop had referred to the confirmation of "one apparently devout colored woman . . . the first instance within my knowledge of one of that class asking for the ordinances of the Church, since a mistaken philanthropy wrenched them, with bloody hands, from the protection and instruction of those who cared for their souls, to throw them back into the ignorance and superstition of their forefathers."¹⁴⁶ And, in 1871, there is this entry in the bishop's journal:

"December 12th, preached in Satartia, and spent the three following days in the neighborhood under the roof of a beloved friend and sister, in whose yard there still stands a chapel, once crowded with her well-instructed servants, now scattered over the land, left to their own guidance, and worse than all, fast coming under the influence of a religious teaching as blasphemous as it is unscriptural. Before I left the house, I baptized three colored children, a remnant of . . . [a] former faithful and affectionate household."¹⁴⁷

The reports of the clergy respecting their work with the negroes gives a very similar impression. The Rev. Geo. C. Harris, as rector of the Chapel of the Cross, Madison County, reported:

"It is a fact worthy of note that it is now much more difficult for white men—no matter what their antecedents or where they came from—to teach these people than before the war."¹⁴⁸

He suggested "the admission of men of that color to the ministry . . . and trust the mercy of God to bless it."

Before that, from the predominantly negro Delta counties of Issaquena and Washington, Mr. Harris had reported the establishment of a "free school" for the negro children, and added:

"They are catechised weekly . . . [the] congregation has steadily increased. They have learned to recite the confession, the creed, the Lord's prayer, and a portion of the litany. . . . There are in the neighborhood many preachers of their own color, some of whom have renounced the Bible and claim direct inspiration for themselves, exercising a pernicious influence."¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁵*Journal*, 1868, pg. 29.

¹⁴⁶*Ibid.*, pg. 18.

¹⁴⁷*Journal*, 1871, pg. 55.

¹⁴⁸*Journal*, 1868, pg. 62.

¹⁴⁹*Journal*, 1867, pgs. 34-35.

Generally, where patience and intelligence were combined, the colored people were slowly won to the Church. Thus the Rev. G. S. Carraway, at Terry, in 1867, reported:

"On several occasions the church has been open for the freedmen, when their appreciation of the privilege has been shown by their large attendance. Many now worship with the white congregation, and in one instance some participated in the Holy Communion."¹⁵⁰

But in spite of constant and careful work since the unsettling time of war and Reconstruction, it is doubtful if the Church even now has been able to achieve the means and position of advantage to carry on successful labor with the blacks that it had in 1861 and before. The loss to the Church there is probably greater than the damage resulting from physical destruction of church property or the loss of wealth and numbers among white communicants, as great as both losses were.

Yet both the bishop and the committee on the state of the Church observed one real advantage to the Church from the conflict. Both commented on the increased respect of non-Episcopalians for the Church. "The prejudice, opposition, and misrepresentation which have hitherto been so rife in regard to our branch of the Holy Catholic Church, seem, to a great extent, to have given way," wrote the bishop.¹⁵¹ The committee on the state of the Church said it was perhaps due to the "devotion of our clergy to the soldiery", and to the fact, "that our unity has been preserved intact."¹⁵² Whether because of those factors or others, the number confirmed in the year ending April, 1868, was up to 332,¹⁵³ considerably above the average for previous years.

And though proportionally weakened in numbers (approximately 1 out of every 653 persons in the state being a communicant),¹⁵⁴ and with its members living in "utter impoverishment",¹⁵⁵ too poor to restore their broken churches, the diocese faced the new conditions with faith and hope, concerning itself with, "those things which are of supreme importance, the ingathering of souls into His mystical body, and the extension of His spiritual kingdom."¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁰*Journal*, 1867, pg. 34.

¹⁵¹*Journal of the General Convention*, 1868, pg. 319.

¹⁵²*Journal*, 1868, pg. 44.

¹⁵³*Ibid.*

¹⁵⁴Based on 1267 communicants, *Journal*, 1870, pg. 62; and *State population of 827,922, U. S. Census figures for 1870.*

¹⁵⁵*Journal of General Convention*, 1868, pg. 319.

¹⁵⁶*Ibid.*

GEORGE HODGES POPULARIZER OF CHURCH HISTORY*

By James Arthur Muller†

FROM Taunton, England, came William Hodges, sea captain, to Boston, in 1633. Ten years later he settled in Taunton, Massachusetts. Eight generations later, in 1856, his descendant, George Hodges, was born. Through his mother George was also a descendant of Miles Standish and of John and Priscilla Alden; hence he was a member of that group of people some of whose ancestors really came over in the Mayflower.

Although seven generations of Hodges had lived in New England, George was born and reared in Rome, New York, whither his parents had moved. His mother died when he was six, and he came under the tutelage of a maiden aunt who, in order to "improve his mind," read aloud to him Gibbons' *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*. This formidable introduction to history at the age of six was quite beyond him, but "he liked the sound of the words."

In his high school days at the Rome Free Academy, and during his college course at Hamilton, he read widely in English literature, history, and biography; and he early developed the terse, vigorous, simple English style for which he became noted in later life. "Use strong adjectives and few conjunctions," was an admonition of his English teacher in high school, which he never forgot. While in college he was editor of the *Hamilton Literary Monthly*, and was elected to Phi Beta Kappa. He had an article in the *Atlantic Monthly* the year he graduated.

Before his graduation he had come to the decision to study for the ministry, but he taught in a boys' school for a year after college, in order to earn money to do so. Although of Puritan ancestry, his mother had become an Episcopalian before his birth and he had been reared in the Episcopal Church. Yet it was not until sometime during his year of teaching that he felt sure that it would be the Episcopal min-

*In addition to the books mentioned in the text, this paper is based in part on personal acquaintance with the late Dean Hodges and his family, and in part on the admirable biography of him written by his widow, Julia Shelly Hodges, published by the Century Co. (New York, 1926).

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istry he would enter. He wrote to a friend that he had thought much "about the vexed problem of denominationalism." "I have come," he said, "to feel that the preacher's work lies above and outside of all denominations. . . . I feel that what my own church needs to get her awake and to break down her barriers of exclusiveness, is simply men who will try to do in their own small parishes and with their own small powers the kind of work which Dean Stanley, Charles Kingsley, Frederick W. Robertson, Dr. Tyng, and Phillips Brooks have been doing for the church at large. Nothing is more needed in the Episcopal Church than liberal, tolerant thought; devout earnestness; men who believe in the eternal preciousness of human souls above all formalism." He had come to the conclusion that there was work for him to do in his own church.

"Yale is the best theological school in the country," he wrote in 1878, and announced his intention of going there; but his bishop, Frederick Dan Huntington, induced him to enter his newly opened and short-lived school in Syracuse. Hodges described it thus: "The School consists of five students—three seniors and two juniors. The middle class, whose name was Bigelow, has gone elsewhere." He found it, he said, "a quiet place to work," with "a few good teachers to suggest methods of reading, and a devotional atmosphere." The best of the teachers was Dean Jennings, who might be expected to come into the house at any hour of day or night and shout up the back stairs, "Hodges, want to come down and take a lecture?" Hodges not only took Dr. Jennings' lectures, he also took his daughter, to whom he became engaged in the following summer. Two years later he married her.

At the end of one year at Syracuse he had taken all the lectures supposed to serve for a three-year course. He then moved on to the Berkeley Divinity School, at Middletown, Connecticut, whence he graduated two years later. Here he read Charles Kingsley and Frederick Dennison Maurice and so admired them that they became the models of his own ministry. He was diligent with his Greek Testament; he kept up reading in German; he used his Latin in his study of Church History by translating a hitherto untranslated work of Gerson *On the Consolations of Theology*. In the summer after his middle year he read twenty-six books, among them Froude's *Bunyan*, Symond's *Shelley*, Taylor's *Loyola*, Coleridge's *Keble*, and Clark's *Savonarola*.

During his seminary days he rose at 6.30, went to bed at 11.00, and had an allotted hour for each of the day's duties between. Such systematization of time became habitual with him. In his *Pursuit of Happiness*, written when he was fifty, he said: "People are worn out not by the things which they do, but by the things they do not; the

calls which are not made, the books which are not read, the stitches which are not taken, the letters which are not begun—these are the evil spirits which give us sleepless nights. Not one of them can live in an atmosphere of regulation. They flee before a systematic ordering of life as mice flee before the cat. The wise man who desires serenity and satisfaction will set about achieving them in the same sensible fashion in which he undertakes the erection of a house. He will draw up specifications. . . . It means a clear understanding between the clock and the conscience."

To such an understanding Hodges came early in life.

On graduation from seminary in 1881 he became the assistant to Boyd Vincent, rector of Calvary Church, Pittsburgh. In 1887 he was made associate rector, and, early in 1889, when Vincent became Bishop of Southern Ohio, rector. Calvary was the leading Episcopal Church in Pittsburgh, with a communicant list of 800, and two mission chapels in other parts of the city.

Hodges at the beginning of his rectorship was 32 years old. He was short of stature, quiet in manner, wholly without any of the "strut" which short people who think themselves important sometimes affect. Although he had a genial twinkle in his eye and a kindly smile, he was by no means handsome. Most people thought him plain. He agreed with them. Twenty-five years later, when his portrait was presented to the theological school over which he then presided, he looked at it quizzically and said: "I have seen this picture all too often, and whenever I look at it I agree with Oliver Wendell Holmes that a face is not an ornament but a convenience."

He had, however, qualities of mind and character which inevitably made him a leader. "He is," said Bishop Whitehead of Pittsburgh, "unwearied in labors, full of new methods, . . . with a rare faculty for getting on with men, original in thought, a most interesting preacher." The outstanding Roman Catholic priest in the city, Morgan M. Sheedy, who began by suspecting Hodges of trying to proselytize Roman Catholic children, ended by praising him publicly for his "catholicity of mind and heart" and for his work in tearing down the wall of bigotry which separated Catholics and Protestants. Sheedy became one of Hodges' most enthusiastic helpers in every venture for the good of the community, saying: "I have never met a man more resourceful in ideas and in practical means to carry out his ideas for social betterment."

Social betterment was the keynote of much of Hodges' ministry in Pittsburgh. He was the founder of Kingsley House, a social settlement modeled after Toynbee Hall in London and Hull House in Chicago; he was behind every effort for civic reform during the years

of his rectorship; his sermons of that period furnish one of the best presentations of the social gospel in American literature. In one volume of them, *The Heresy of Cain*, we find such titles as "The Gospel and Poverty," "The Church and the Labor Movement," "Business and Religion," "Our Duty to Caesar," "War and Politics." It was in this volume that the sermon, "New Quests for New Knights," appeared. It had been preached to the Tancred Commandery of the Knights Templar. The text was from II Samuel 23: 11-12: "And the Philistines were gathered together into a troop, where was a plot of ground full of lentils; and the people fled from the Philistines. But he stood in the midst of the plot, and defended it, and slew the Philistines, and the Lord wrought a great victory."

"The Philistines," said Hodges, "were gathered together into a troop. . . . The people of Israel, on the other hand, were disorganized, destitute of discipline, and thus able to make but a scattering and ineffective fight. And the natural consequence was that the people fled. . . . The People of God . . . if they are ever to accomplish reformation and betterment, must be gathered together into a troop. . . .

"Take the bad business, which is notorious all over this country, of municipal government. It is that old fight over again. The Philistines are gathered together into a ring. The good people who oppose them in the interest of honest administration . . . are without discipline, without organization, without agreement. And the people flee. . . .

"A city is only another form of a great office-building, . . . in which the streets are the halls and stairways and our dwellings are the rooms. And a city ought to be, and can be, managed as well as any office building. . . .

"All honor to the brave men of the crusades, . . . who counted their lives as nothing that they might free the Holy City from the dominion of the infidel! Where is the Holy City of our day? It is New York; it is Boston; it is Pittsburgh. . . .

"That old fight in the field of beans was turned, after all, into a victory. The people fled; yes, but not all. There stood one 'in the midst of the plot, and defended it, and slew the Philistines. . . .'

"God makes great use of minorities. Every good cause begins in the heart of one good man. Sometimes he goes on unhelped and unbefriended. Nevertheless, though alone, on he goes, and stands up face to face with the Philistines, determined, brave, persistent. . . . 'Though their bodies be of furnace flame, and their swords keen as forked lightning, yet will I stand my ground!' That is what the good Knight Tancred said. . . .

"The task of the knight of the nineteenth century is, as of old, the rescue of a city. But our Jerusalem is the city where we live."

Some of the listening Knights Templar wrote letters of protest, saying that they had come to church to hear religion preached, not politics; but this and other sermons like it coupled with Hodges' genius for getting people of all faiths working together, had results. Sometime after the end of his Calvary Church ministry a prominent Pittsburgh layman, H. D. W. English, summed it up thus:

"Calvary men and women, under Dr. Hodges, began to take an interest in the city and its affairs. . . . It was not long before the political powers that controlled the city called us 'that Damned Calvary Crowd.' We elected one of our vestry, the Honorable George W. Guthrie, mayor . . . we elected our senior warden to Congress, we elected another vestryman to be judge of the Orphans' Court. Under Mayor Guthrie an organization was formed called 'The Voters League' . . . which cleaned up graft in the Councils, putting eighteen councilmen in the penitentiary . . . as well as a number of bankers, and brought about a new charter for the city.

"Mayor Guthrie [and two other Calvary laymen] were sponsors for the famous 'Pittsburgh Survey'—the greatest social survey ever made of a city. . . . Mayor Guthrie appointed . . . a Civic Commission to carry out many social reforms suggested by the survey. The graft trials, the Survey, the Civic Commission, would need a volume for each. . . ."

Mr. English goes on to say that when Hodges was called elsewhere he begged him to stay, saying "that few men had the unique privilege of ministering to and influencing the social conscience of an entire city."

Vital as Hodges was to the social conscience of Pittsburgh, that was not his sole concern. He was an indefatigable pastor, a skilled director of the religious education of the children of his parish, a protagonist of church unity. Nor were his sermons by any means confined to matters of social service. He had a rare gift for popular presentation of both theology and church history.

It was his custom to give a yearly course of six or eight sermons on Church History at Sunday evening services. In October of 1889, for instance, his parish paper carried this announcement:

"The Church History lectures will begin again on the first Sunday evening of this month and continue during October and November. The following are the titles:

- I. The Beginning of the Middle Ages
- II. The Popes and the Emperors
- III. The Crusades

- IV. Doctors and Schoolmen
- V. Friars in Brown and Black
- VI. The Priests and the People
- VII. The Story of the Inquisition
- VIII. Before the Reformation"

In other years he would speak on the Reformation, or the Puritan Movement, or the Wesleyan Revival, or the Church in America. And there was always a crowded church to hear him.

In June, 1893, he was elected Bishop Coadjutor of Oregon. He declined. In October of the same year he was elected Dean of the Episcopal Theological School in Cambridge, Massachusetts. He accepted, and began his work in Cambridge in January, 1894. It was said of him that "he left Pittsburgh the most influential and admired Christian minister in Western Pennsylvania." He had been there twelve and a half years. He was to be just twice that time in Cambridge.

Although of New England ancestry, he had never lived in New England. Not long after his arrival in Cambridge, he wrote to a Pittsburgh friend: "These Boston people don't warm up to you—but they sometimes freeze on to you."

In addition to his duties as dean, he was also professor of homiletics and pastoral care. In these fields he brought to the school a rich fund of experience which he was able to impart with such clarity and quiet humor that the graduates of twenty-five classes carried into their own parish work his methods and ideals.

As for preaching, his advice was:

"Have something to say and then say it."

"Preach so that the wife of the sexton can understand you as well as the wife of the senior warden."

"The ideal sermon is a single important thought, stated, proved, illustrated, and applied."

"Beware of somnolent delivery. Anyhow preach as if *you* thought it a good sermon."

"Choose good texts that will arouse attention and clinch your message . . . for example when you want to preach on the Religious Responsibility of Men, take Matthew 20:20: 'Then came to Him the mother of Zebedee's children with her sons'—but where was Zebedee?"

"Do not let yourself imagine that you are working very hard. Never have any idle moments. A minister should be ashamed to be found doing nothing."

"Be systematic in the employment of time. This is the open secret of success."

He cited the fisherman as an example for the minister:

"One of the ministerial virtues of the fisherman is his patience. He casts his hook and waits. Another ministerial virtue of the fisherman is his preference for difficulty. He is interested in the elusive fish which hides among the rocks and views the bait with sophisticated indifference. . . . The fisherman . . . makes use of variety. . . . He knows that while some fish like worms, others prefer frogs, and others flies. . . . He has no theory of a standard fish-food which the fish must take or leave. Still less is he disposed to infer the fishes' appetite from his own, and to offer as bait the sort of thing he himself had for breakfast—one of the commonest errors of the clergy. His question is, What will the fish take? And he finds the answer by continual experiment."

His life in Cambridge, busy as it was, gave him more time, or perhaps more stimulus for writing than he had had in Pittsburgh. His historical publications began in 1901 with a short life of William Penn in the *Riverside Biographical Series*. This was followed in 1904 by *Fountain Abbey, The Story of a Medieval Monastery*. The same year he contributed a chapter on "The Battle of Quebec and What it Meant," to a volume by several authors, entitled *Stepping Stones in American History*. Then in 1906 came *Three Hundred Years of the Episcopal Church in America*, issued in anticipation of the celebration of the tercentenary of the landing at Jamestown. This was probably his most widely read book, certainly his most widely read historical book, 24,444 copies being sold within a year of its publication. In 1907 appeared *Holderness; An Account of the Beginnings of a New Hampshire Town*; and in 1909 *The Apprenticeship of Washington and Other Sketches*. This contained four studies besides that for which the book was named: "The Hanging of Mary Dyer" (a magnificent chapter in the history of the struggle for religious toleration, magnificently told), "The Adventures of Captain Myles Standish," "The Education of John Harvard," and "The Forefathers of Jamestown."

It is in this last that Hodges, after noting two or three reasons why Plymouth has commanded more attention in our histories than Jamestown, adds: "The chief and prevailing disadvantage of Jamestown in its competition with Plymouth for the gratitude of good Americans lay in the fact that it was so far away from Boston. It was unhappily beyond the powers of any Jamestown man to repeat the daily devotions of Mr. Emerson, who said that every morning when he opened the shutters of his bed-chamber and looked out, he thanked God that he lived in so fair a world—and so near Boston."

In the same essay he indulges in this thrust at certain contemporary biographers:

"The only presupposition which some writers seem to permit themselves is the general proposition that all the persons whom we used to

think were good were really bad, and those we used to revere as saints were really sinners like ourselves. . . . It has been predicted that we shall presently discover that Nero, instead of fiddling while Rome burned, played a violin at a concert given for the benefit of the sufferers."

In 1911 and 1912 appeared two volumes of biographical sketches: *Saints and Heroes to the End of the Middle Ages* and *Saints and Heroes since the Middle Ages*. The first begins with Cyprian, the second ends with Wesley, and there are thirty-two others between. They were written primarily for young people, but may be read with profit by their elders. For anyone who would attempt to give biographical talks, whether to children or to grown-ups, they are models of arrangement, emphasis, and the use of illustrative incident. They were followed in 1915 by *The Early Church from Ignatius to Augustine*, still one of the best books to arouse the interest of a beginner in Church History. In the same year, came a full length biography: *Henry Codman Potter, Seventh Bishop of New York*, and finally, in 1917, the chapters on "The Episcopalians" in *The Religious History of New England*, a volume by eight different authors.

All of these books were popular in the sense that they were delightfully written and easily read. "George Hodges," said Professor Roland H. Bainton of Yale recently, "was the best popularizer of Church History we have ever had." If, however, we infer from the word popular that these books were hastily thrown together, careless, inaccurate, or based merely on secondary material, we are mistaken. Hodges made no pretense of being a trained historian, nor did he teach history, but he knew the work of the best historians, he submitted his manuscripts to his historical colleagues for criticism, and his first-hand knowledge of that whereof he wrote might well put to shame some of us who imagine we are historians.

Before he began the life of William Penn, he acquainted himself with Penn's works and letters, with contemporary as well as more recent biographies. When he wrote the early history of Holderness, New Hampshire (where he had a summer home), he consulted the town records, the early maps and charters, and the State Papers of New Hampshire. This familiarity with source material is found in everything he wrote on the colonial period of American history. It was but slightly less so in other fields. When in *The Early Church* he discussed the Letters of Ignatius or the Meditations of Marcus Aurelius or the Confessions of Augustine, he did so on the basis of his own reading of these books. Where he had to depend on others he chose the best of contemporary works and used them with care and discretion.

When he wrote *Fountains Abbey* he was at Fountains Abbey. He

studied the ruins; he read the archaeological conclusions of W. H. St. John Hope, and the Abbey records published by the Surtees Society. He consulted other medieval Cistercian material. His life of Bishop Potter is based wholly on first hand sources and, on all counts, compares favorably with the best of modern biography.

What made his work popular was, in addition to his terse, direct, vigorous English, his gift of simplification, his orderly presentation, his ability to seize on the significant and pass over the less relevant, his discerning, yet kindly judgment, his instinctive use of illustrative incident that was full of human interest, his broad sympathy which enabled him to interpret fairly the Puritan, the Churchman, the Quaker, and the Romanist, and, above all, his sense of humor.

Only the examination of one of his books as a whole, or at least of a chapter of one, can reveal the way in which he selected, arranged, or presented his material; but a brief quotation or two may give some inkling of his manner if not of his method. When, in *The Early Church*, he tells why men in the fourth century became monks, he says, among other things: "They fled from the world, which in the first century was believed by Christians to be doomed, and liable to be destroyed by divine fire . . . and which in the fourth century was believed by Christians to be damned; it belonged to the devil. They fled also from the church, which they accused of secularity and hypocrisy. Many of the monks were laymen, who in deep disgust had forsaken the services and sacraments. . . . They were men who had resolved never to go to church again."

When he comes to Basil and Gregory of Nazianzus he observes that "Cappadocia, the district from which these two men came, had an unsavory reputation in the contemporary world. . . . Men who had their residence in more favored regions liked to tell how a viper bit a Cappadocian and the viper died."

He opens his chapter on Augustine thus:

"In the congregation of St. Ambrose at Milan, in the latter part of the fourth century, there was a young man with whom many persons are better acquainted than with some of their intimate friends. He wrote an account of his life, in which he set down with exceeding frankness not only what he had done, but what he had thought. And this account remains to this day. It is the earliest of autobiographies. Here, for the first time since the world began, did a man write a book about himself. Even now, after these fifteen hundred years, it is still the best of such books."

After telling something of Augustine's early life, he comes to his Neo-platonic period:

"It is a curious fact that at this moment, as he was committing himself to a career which demanded first purgation, then illumination, then separation from the world, Augustine looked about with deliberate prudence for a rich wife. He had proposed to establish a little community of philosophers. . . . But such a community must have a financial basis. . . . So he proposed to improve his condition by marrying money. A young woman was found who on her side was willing to undertake the perilous adventure of marrying philosophy. . . . Thereupon Augustine discarded his true wife, the mother of his son, who had lived with him for thirteen years. She was his wife, saving only the formulas of church and state. But he put her away, keeping his son, sending her back to Africa. And to these transactions the good Monica gave her approval.

"We are following the frank story of the 'Confessions,' saying to ourselves, How contemporary it all is! and of a sudden we come upon such an incident as this, and we perceive that after all we are dealing with a Roman African, in the end of the fourth century. Happily, the conversion of Augustine to the Christian religion put a stop to all further matrimonial progress."

When telling of the French and Indian war in his history of Holderness, he remarks that the period of it which included the capture of Louisburg furnished no material for Holderness history, but adds that he "cannot forbear to quote the comment on that extraordinary victory, which Dr. Belknap cites from an old writer. 'This siege,' he says, 'was carried on in a tumultuary random manner, resembling a Cambridge Commencement.'"

In his chapters on the Episcopalians in *The Religious History of New England*, after referring to the objections raised by Bishop Eastburn to the cross and candles placed on the communion table of the Church of the Advent in Boston in 1844, he adds: "The bishop refused to visit the parish for confirmation till the offensive ornaments were removed, and the rector and vestry refused to remove them. Each side exhibited that perseverance of the saints which in sinners is called obstinacy."

The following description of Chrysostom as a preacher, again from *The Early Church*, is not only a sample of Hodges' crisp English, it is something of a portrait of Hodges himself:

"He was a small, slender . . . man, without even the assistance of a strong voice. But what he said was clear and definite; nobody could mistake what he meant; he had emotion, he had humor, he had sympathy, he had passion. . . . And he addressed himself straight to common life."

No unimportant element in Dean Hodges' popularity as a historian was his popularity in other fields. He had attained a nation-wide reputation as a civic reformer and as a preacher before he published any historical work. His reputation as a preacher and lecturer continued to grow after his coming to Cambridge; he was in perpetual demand in churches and colleges from one end of the country to the other. And his books in other fields than history reached an ever widening public.

Nine historical volumes have been mentioned. In addition to these he published twenty-five in other fields; a total of thirty-four books in thirty-five years, from 1884, the date of his first, till his death in 1919. He contributed chapters to others, was joint author of three more, joint editor of fourteen school readers, and author of at least fifty articles in *The Atlantic Monthly*, *The Ladies' Home Journal*, *The Outlook* and *The Homiletic Review*.

"When you meet anyone on the street here in Cambridge," he said in one of his talks welcoming new men to the theological school, "don't say, 'How do you do?' say, 'How's your book?' Everybody's writing a book." He might have added that there were few if any, even in Cambridge, who were writing as many as he.

His non-historical books included sermons, essays, confirmation instructions, books on the Bible, and Bible stories for children. The sale of his life of Christ for young people, entitled *When the King Came*, reached almost 28,000 copies. He was not only a popularizer of Church History; he was a popularizer of the Social Gospel, of the Bible, of theology; and his reputation in one field helped to gain him a hearing in others.

The wonder is, how he found time for it all. It has been answered, truly enough, that he did not *find* time, he made it. He was the incarnation of order and industry, and he had the happy ability to concentrate on an appointed task at an appointed hour without being disturbed by anticipation of what was coming next or shadow of what had just been left.

He was also economical of his matter, using it again and again in sermon or lecture, till it was ready for publication. In the preface to *The Early Church*, published in 1915, he tells us that the book was begun seven years before as a series of Lowell Lectures, in Boston, given without manuscript. They were repeated thus in five other places. Then in 1913 four chapters were written out for a series of lectures at Kenyon College and one for a lecture at Ann Arbor, Michigan. In 1914 four more were written for delivery at the Berkeley Divinity School, and finally all were repeated at a summer conference in California.

His books for children and young people, such as his *Saints and Heroes*, were first written for his own children, of whom he had five. Two of the historical books, *Fountains Abbey* and *Holderness*, were summer diversions. He hardly enjoyed a vacation unless a book came out of it.

Two years before his death he wrote an article for *The Homiletic Review*, on Archbishop Cranmer. You may not agree with his characterization of Cranmer, but whether you do or not, you would recognize Hodges himself, had you known him, in this characterization:

"He was an open-minded, friendly person, whose preference was for agreement rather than disagreement, and he saw that there was good on both sides. . . . He had the humble mind of the wise scholar. . . . He perceived that the conservatives were right: the men of the new learning parted with him at that point. He perceived also that the progressives were right: the men of the old learning declined to go with him down that road. This perplexing situation was further complicated by the fact that he perceived himself to be liable to error. He changed his mind. . . .

"The consequences were bad for Cranmer, but they were good every way for the Book of Common Prayer. This gift of sympathy made it an inclusive book. . . .

"Cranmer's spirit . . . has not always prevailed in the counsels of the Anglican Church. It was forgotten when high churchmen were turned out in the days of Elizabeth, and when low churchmen were turned out in the days of Charles II. But there have always been some to remember it, and there are now many such—comprehensive churchmen, of whom it can be said that the Kingdom of God is within them, for the unity of the contending churches is realized already in the hospitality of their own souls."

DOCUMENTARY HISTORY

Why Dr. Francis Lister Hawks Declined His Election as First Missionary Bishop of the Southwest

By Walter Herbert Stowe

ON Thursday, September 1, 1835, the last day of the session of General Convention of that year, the House of Bishops nominated "the Reverend Francis L. Hawks, D. D., as a Bishop of this Church to exercise episcopal functions in the State of Louisiana, and in the Territories of Arkansas and Florida;—and the Reverend Jackson Kemper, D. D., as a Bishop, to exercise episcopal functions in the States of Missouri and Indiana."¹ On the same afternoon, the House of Deputies "unanimously concurred" in the nomination of each gentleman, thereby completing the election.²

The Journal further states: "The Rev. Dr. Hawks being present, signified to the House his willingness to accept of the appointment, provided provision were made to his satisfaction, for the support of his family."

The specific grounds of his final declination of the election have not been fully known to later generations. But now, fortunately, through the gift to the Church Historical Society of a valuable collection of letters, originally in the possession of Bishop William White, the Presiding Bishop at that time, and handed down through his family to his descendant the Reverend Dr. James A. Montgomery, the present donor, we have the reasons from Dr. Hawks himself in two letters to Bishop White shortly before his intended consecration on the 25th of September, 1835. Dr. Hawks wrote a beautiful hand and his letters are as easy to read today as they were over one hundred years ago.

¹*Journal of General Convention, 1835, p. 111.*

²*Journal, ibid., p. 82.*

DR. HAWKS TO BISHOP WHITE

New York Sept. 16, 1835

Right Rev. and dear Sir,

I received yours this morning, informing me that you had appointed the 25th instant for the consecration, and I have written to Dr Kemper to apprise him of the fact. I am sorry to be obliged to add that in my own case there are difficulties on the subject of a support for my family which compel me to pause. The Church at New Orleans demands as a condition of its aiding my support, duties which, in the view of our bishop here³, of Dr Milnor⁴, & others, as well as of myself, are utterly incompatible with the purposes which the Church had in view in my appointment. She, the New Orleans Church, requires *at the least* 5 months of my time in her service in the City of N. Orleans. Now when it is remembered that 7 months is about the extent of time in which I could labour in that country, that the only time for travelling is the winter, just when they want me, that my district of country has already seven churches scattered over a territory larger than all England, Scotland & Wales, and that there are probably seven other spots in which the Church might be planted, I confess I do not see how I am to answer the views of the Church as a *missionary bishop*, and remain 5 months in N. Orleans. I know the country and the difficulties of travelling in it. Between some of the stations in Florida, there are seven days hard travel, part of it thro' a wilderness where my only bed must be the ground, with the sky for my covering. Now from all this travel & fatigue I will not shrink; but let me have for it the blessed thought that, like an apostle of old, I am labouring from place to place to plant the Church of the redeemer—let me be a missionary indeed; not the minister of Christ Church N. Orleans.—I am ready to go, but it must be to do what the Church sent me for.—

By the advice of our Bishop and the brethren here, I must at least delay the consecration. The executive Committee of the Domestic department of our Board of Missions, which you will remember is placed here, will unanimously recommend to me not to be fastened to N. Orleans—it defeats the whole object. All I want is to see competent & permanent provision made for my wife & children: this was the only condition which I annexed to my acceptance. Why, the time allowed me, if I give 5 months to New Orleans, would not enable me to visit the Florida stations alone. One of them (Key West) is within 60 miles of the Island of Cuba, and I must go to sea to visit it—there are about 700 miles between the most eastern & western stations, on land, in that territory alone; and seven hundred miles farther west would not take me to the

³Dr. Benjamin T. Onderdonk, Bishop of New York.

⁴The Rev. James Milnor, D. D., rector of St. George's Church, New York City, and secretary of the Foreign Committee of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society.

extremity of my ground on the Red River where a church can be planted. To do any good I must be free to go just when & where circumstances call me. I do not blame the Church of New Orleans—I have anticipated this difficulty all along, & mentioned it before the election—N. Orleans cannot & ought not to pay me for services which I cannot render.

I hope that Providence will yet make all things plain & open the door for whatever is best for the Church. To his wisdom and goodness I cheerfully leave it, content to do according to his will.—Commending myself to your counsels and your prayers, I am with all the affection of a son,

Right Rev. & dear Sir,

most truly your serv^t in Christ

Francis L. Hawks.

DR. HAWKS TO BISHOP WHITE

New York Sept. 23. 1835

Right Rev. & dear Sir,

It is with the utmost regret I write to say that no satisfactory provision for my family, which will leave me free to perform the duties of a missionary bishop, has yet been made.

Under these circumstances, I must decline being consecrated, as the condition of my acceptance was that such provision should be made.

I have been given to understand that to disregard the necessities of my wife & children, nay, to feed them "on parsnips & water" is *piety*; it may be so, but I do not believe it is humanity, which always struck me as being one of the fruits of true piety.—

Referring you my dear sir, to my own bishop, and my good friend Dr Kemper for further information in this matter, I am most respectfully & truly

Your son & serv^t

F. L. Hawks.

At the General Convention of 1838 the Rev. Leonidas Polk of Tennessee was elected, and in December of that year consecrated, first Missionary Bishop of the Southwest, which jurisdiction he held until his translation to the diocese of Louisiana in 1841.

BOOK REVIEWS

Later Episcopal Sunday Schools. By Clifton Hartwell Brewer, B. D., Ph. D. Morehouse-Gorham Co. 1939.

Six years ago Dr. Brewer published his work on Early Episcopal Sunday Schools bringing the story down to the year 1865. Now comes a welcome addition picking up the thread and bringing it up to date. He traces the development of the Sunday School movement in this Church glancing at the time when it was frowned upon until the period when it was officially recognized. Among other chapters are those dealing with Lesson Manuals and material; School Libraries and Sunday School Magazines, and with a valuable Bibliography. The two Books combined afford a comprehensive review of the work of Religious education, and are not likely to be superseded in the near future.

From Strachan to Owen. How the Church of England Was Planted and Tended in British North America. By Wm. Perkins Bull. The Perkins Foundation. George J. McLeod, Ltd. Toronto, Canada. Pp. 495.

The Church of England in Canada is to be congratulated on having one of the most distinguished lawyers in the Dominion, and a prolific historical writer, take the time and trouble to sketch the History of an important period in Canadian Church life. It is a model account inasmuch as it bases the general history of the Church on the life and work of the parishes, and fully demonstrates that the life of the nation and the Church were so closely intertwined that the story of the one, is the story of the other. Beginning with the advent of the American Loyalists who flocked to Canada during the War of the Revolution and founded the Anglican Church in Nova Scotia, it traces the growth of the Church in Upper Canada with a wealth of detail and not a little dry humor. Strachan, the leading figure in the book, was the son of an Aberdeen mason working in a granite quarry, and came to Canada in 1799 and was ordained by the Bishop of Quebec in 1803. In his first parish some were Roman Catholics; many Lutherans, with "plenty of Presbyterians"; a "few Methodists" and most "no religion at all." In this unpromising constituency "the sturdy little rector" did great work. His qualities were many-sided. He was well educated, a devoted parish priest; a tireless worker; a shrewd judge of men, and a born politician; so unconventional and so uncompromising that he was viewed with something like suspicion by his ecclesiastical superiors. In the course of time they came to recognize his sterling worth and in 1839 he was consecrated to the new see in Upper Canada and had to borrow the money to go to England for consecration. Nevertheless, he travelled through his diocese with his own horses and coachman. It is told that after dinner glasses were passed with great ceremony and when on one occasion his chaplain accidentally spilt the wine, the Scotch instinct came out

as the bishop sharply said: "Haud your havers, ye fule, and dinna waste the guid wine; do ye think it's buttermilk?" And so the story of a great fighting episcopate vividly unfolds through twenty-one chapters brimming over with life and color. There are five Appendices; ten pages of closely-printed Bibliography, and an illuminating and learned discussion of the term "Anglican". The Book is sumptuously bound, beautifully printed, and a special word should be said for the numerous photographs, reproductions of woodcuts and watercolors. One of the line drawings is of special interest to Americans—it is entitled, "Prelate and Plutocrats", and shows Bishop Rowe of Alaska, J. Pierpont Morgan and John D. Rockefeller "playing Duck-on-the-Rock". The frontispiece is a striking reproduction in color of the author, William Perkins Bull, K. C., LL. B., from a painting by Sir Wily Grier.

E. CLOWES CHORLEY.

Religion and the State in Georgia in the Eighteenth Century. By Reba Carolyn Strickland. Columbia University Press, 1939. \$2.50.

This is a very much needed and an excellent account of the influence of religion on government and *vice versa* in the last of the thirteen original colonies. Doctor Strickland makes no attempt to supply a definite chronological treatment of the development of the various religious bodies in Georgia; but in her study of the founding of the province, the policy and actions of the Trustees and their agents, the royal government, the American Revolution, and the changes growing out of the break with the Mother Country, she supplies some very interesting facts and draws conclusions which are in the main convincing.

Georgia was decidedly Anglican in its inception; indeed there is abundant ground to trace the idea to the celebrated Doctor Thomas Bray, one of the most influential churchmen of his day. The Trustees of Georgia and the Associates of Doctor Bray existed for a while as a single organisation, even using the same minute book and regarding their object and interests as identical. But Georgia, on its settlement, became a haven for the distressed and persecuted of other religious affiliations. The native of Georgia looks back on that tolerant and hospitable attitude with pardonable pride; but as an Episcopalian he realizes that therein were latent the forces which hindered a strong establishment of the Church of England. At least three of the Eighteenth Century Georgia clergymen belong to world-history—John Wesley, Charles Wesley, and George Whitefield, but not one of these made a substantial contribution to the Church of Georgia *per se*. There were no other Anglican colonial clergymen who measured in intellect, industry, or consecration to at least twenty or thirty whom we might pick from the colonies further north; sincere and moral men as they doubtless were, they were mediocre personalities. Furthermore, the life of pre-Revolutionary Georgia was only some forty years—not long enough for roots to sink deeply. As a result, the Church of England never gained a solid foundation in Georgia. The colony was thinly settled, and its population scattered; the Church was from the outset confronted by the zealots of other religious bodies—some of whom still bore the mark of persecution abroad. The Anglican clergy tried hard to assert and enforce their prerogatives, but they and their constituents found themselves opposed and thwarted by powerful dissenting elements. When the Revolution became a reality, the Church, with its Tory leanings, suffered a deadly blow.

Ever since, the Episcopal Church has found itself in Georgia "only one of many, with no special privileges, dependent upon voluntary contributions for its support."

It appears that Doctor Strickland is a bit vague about the special functions of the S. P. C. K. and the S. P. G. She says: "Although the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge was the older and parent organization, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts did more work in the colonies. . . . The S. P. G. undertook to send missionaries to the plantations and to support them for three years while a glebe was being laid out and cultivated for the purpose" (p. 28). As a matter of fact, the S. P. G. very largely relieved the S. P. C. K. of the propagation and support of colonial missions; and the S. P. C. K. was left free to focus its attention on its main object, which was educational work. The circulation of the Bible and Prayer-book, the founding of Church libraries, the distribution of books and tracts, and certain philanthropic measures became the special activity and aim of the S. P. C. K. The two societies were in no sense overlapping or competing organizations; and the selection of missionaries for the colonies, the soliciting of funds for their support, and the checking up on their ministrations became the special service of the S. P. G.

Since Doctor Strickland brings the Reverend James Seymour into her account more than once and states that, because of his Tory sympathies, "eventually he was compelled to retire to Savannah within the British lines" (p. 147), and that at last he went to Savannah "where he assisted the minister of Christ Church and tried to make a living teaching school" (p. 159), it is of interest to suggest some facts in connection with his subsequent career. Finding his position difficult, if not impossible, after the siege of Fort Augusta, in 1780, when his "Houses were plundered and destroyed; His lands seized upon Confiscated and Sold; Great part of his Negroes seized and carried into the Province of Virginia" (American Loyalist Claims: Audit Office: Bundle A. O. 13/36a), he found refuge in Florida. He visited New Smyrna, and assisted the Reverend John Forbes at St. Augustine. After the death of Forbes, he was the only Anglican clergyman in the province. On February 14th, 1784, he wrote the S. P. G. that since June 8th, he had baptised 94 children, married 33 couples, and buried 47 corpses (S. P. G. New Photostats, L. C., Fla., pp. 303-305, 302). When the Spaniards took possession of Florida, Mr. Seymour started for the Bahamas, and died on his way in 1784. His widow filed a claim for his losses.

We note that in her bibliography she refers to the "Hawkes Transcripts" in the New York Historical Society—the collection of Doctor Francis L. Hawks. We regret her persistent use of "Reverend" without the definite article; perhaps nothing jars the ear of the purist more than this omission. Doctor Strickland, however, is not the only offender in this regard. Her merits so far outweigh the defects, and the sane and unbiased statement of the case so completely eclipses the instances in which we might register disagreement, that we gladly acclaim her book a real contribution to American history.

EDGAR LEGARE PENNINGTON.

The First Hundred Years. A Centennial History of the History of the Church of the Holy Cross, Ticonderoga, New York. 1839-1939.

This brochure is an admirable illustration of what can be done in the way of the publication of parish histories by churches where funds are not available

for printing a book. It is well and clearly mimeographed and will serve admirably as a permanent record. From many sources the rector has compiled a valuable account of the activities of one of our smaller parishes and has done an excellent piece of work. It is to be hoped his method may be widely followed.

St. George Tucker: A Citizen of No Mean City. By Mary Haldane Coleman Richmond, Virginia.

A happy combination of a Biography with a vivid sketch of life in the colonial city of Williamsburgh. The Tuckers hailed from the County of Kent, England, and in the seventeenth century migrated to Bermuda where St. George Tucker was born in 1752. Twenty years later he entered William and Mary College where students were taught and boarded "for the inconsiderable sum of thirteen pounds, ten shillings per annum". He studied law under George Wythe. The biography unfolds the story of a large and useful life in which St. George played many parts.—merchant; plantation owner; practising lawyer; college professor, and all of them with honor. In 1779 he joined a company of volunteers and later served with distinction in the campaign against Cornwallis. At the close of the war he settled in Williamsburgh where he spent the rest of a long and honored life. The author of this book is one of his descendants and lives in the old Tucker house. She has invested this biography with impelling charm.

Church Activities in West Virginia prepared by The Historical Records Survey Division of Professional and Service Progress Administration. The Protestant Episcopal Church. Wheeling, West Virginia. June, 1939.

Whatever general criticism may be passed on the W. P. A., it deserves great credit for its work of historical investigation, especially as it relates to Church activities. This survey of the work and life of the Church in West Virginia is all that could be desired. Beginning with a sketch of the history of the diocese; it includes the archives of the diocese and of such parish archives as have been preserved, and there is an admirable chapter on the government of the diocese and of the parishes. Obviously, it would have been impossible for a diocese like West Virginia to have done this work and all students of our Church history are under obligation to the W. P. A., for so freely placing this wealth of material at their disposal.

E. CLOWES CHORLEY.

Thomas Bray's Associate and their Work Among the Negroes. By Edgar Legare Pennington. Worcester, Mass.

The Anglican Clergy of Pennsylvania in the American Revolution. By Edgar Legare Pennington. 1939.

Dr. Pennington is adding to his monographs which one hopes will soon be bound together in a volume which will prove of surpassing interest. The first of these relates materially to the work of the Church among the negroes in the earlier period, and the second does the same in the relation of the Anglican clergy in the colonies toward the Revolution. The author is our foremost authority on the colonial period.

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A GREAT EVANGELICAL*

Alonzo Potter, the Third Bishop of Pennsylvania

By William Wilson Manross, Ph.D.

THE growing recognition that history must cover all phases of human development has two significant consequences for the ecclesiastical historian. It calls attention to the importance of his field as a part of general history, and it requires him to broaden his treatment of that field. Instead of showing only the high lights of his subject—the dramatic missionary exploits, the bitter theological controversies, and the rise of new parties or movements—he must endeavor to present a connected picture of the life and growth of the institutions with which he is concerned.

When he does this, he finds that a new set of heroes, as well as a new series of facts, are brought within his view. The courageous missionaries, the venerable founders, and the bold contenders are still important, but added to them are the men who have ably led the church in quieter times and places, molding its institutions and fostering its development.

It is with a hero of this newer type that the present study is concerned. To identify Alonzo Potter to those to whom his name may not be familiar, I have called him a "great Evangelical." The account I am about to give of his life will, I believe, justify that title, but it should be explained at the start that the greatness ascribed to Bishop Potter is of a quiet and solid, rather than a conspicuous or dramatic character. After a presbyterate spent mostly in an academic environment, he was called, in middle life, to become the bishop of a diocese which two able predecessors had already brought into a condition of strength and pros-

*This monograph is an extension of an address delivered at the Annual Meeting of the Church Historical Society in Philadelphia on April 20, 1939.

perity. Under such circumstances, startling achievements were not to be looked for, but throughout his career, which, from his ordination in 1821 to his death in 1865, covers an important period in the history of the Episcopal Church, he showed himself a tireless worker and a statesmanlike leader in the cause of that Church.

Concerning Potter's early life we have only such information as has been preserved for us by his biographer, Bishop Howe, and his eulogist, Bishop Stevens. From them we learn that he was born on July 6, 1800, in a small Dutchess County, New York, village, then known as Beckman, but subsequently renamed La Grange. Both of his parents were Quakers. His father, Joseph Potter, a successful farmer, was descended from colonists who settled in Portsmouth, Rhode Island, in the middle years of the seventeenth century.

Alonzo began his formal education in a local school, which, unless it differed from most country schools of the day, was taught by some half-trained stripling who was either trying thus to eke out a living while preparing for some profession, or had not yet decided what to do with himself. When he had learned what he could under such tuition, the boy was sent to a slightly more advanced academy in Poughkeepsie, which was located across the street from Christ Church rectory, and had once been under the supervision of Philander Chase, the future bishop of Ohio and Illinois.¹

Joseph Potter enjoyed sufficient popularity with his neighbors to be sent by them, for a number of terms, as their representative at Albany. While he was there he met the Reverend Eliphalet Nott, president of Union College, who found it useful to be acquainted with as many members of the legislature as possible. One day, with pardonable pride, he showed Dr. Nott a letter from his son, Alonzo, then in the Poughkeepsie academy. Dr. Nott immediately professed himself much impressed with the boy's talents, and urged that he be sent to Union. The elder Potter accepted this suggestion, and so, in his sixteenth year (then about the average age for entering college), Alonzo matriculated at the Schenectady institution.²

Union College, having been founded in 1795, was only five years older than the young freshman, but it enjoyed a prestige out of proportion to its years, for its president was one of the best known educators of his day.

¹M. A. DeW. Howe, *Memoirs of the Life and Service of the Rt. Rev. Alonzo Potter, D. D., LL. D.* (Philadelphia, 1871), pp. 15-16; W. B. Stevens, *A Discourse Commemorative of the Rt. Rev. Alonzo Potter, D. D., LL. D.* (Philadelphia, 1866), p. 6; H. W. Reynolds, *The Records of Christ Church, Poughkeepsie, (Poughkeepsie, 1911)*, pp. 140-44.

²Howe, *op. cit.*, pp. 16-17; Stevens, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

Genius is always difficult to define, and pedagogical genius is one of its least definable forms, because the results of a teacher's work are less tangible and slower in appearance than the achievements of an artist, or a writer, or even of a statesman. It is not easy, therefore, to say in just what way Dr. Nott had earned his reputation as an instructor. Some of his educational theories were so advanced that they might, with a little alteration in phraseology, be included in the latest bulletin of Teachers' College. Others sound more like the echo of popular American prejudices.

He sought, we are told, to preserve each man's individuality, encouraging every student to think and act for himself, instead of accepting docilely the opinions of his teachers, however learned they might be. Though he was probably too good a Latinist to accept the popular modern definition of education as the "leading out" of the pupil's natural aptitudes, he did believe in the principle it expresses. Book-learning he considered of slight value in comparison with that mysterious, but no doubt important, thing called "a knowledge of human nature". As one student expressed it, "With him, book-worms and pedants were at a discount. He would have every man rely upon his genius and not consume his strength with the wasting midnight oil." He advised the students in the senior class, who came most directly under his supervision, to confine their reading to Shakespeare and the Bible.³

In an age when most colleges were governed by elaborate and unenforceable rules, which would today be laughed out of any but the most backward boarding schools, he set, at Union, an example of manly and liberal discipline. According to his most famous pupil, William Henry Seward, "There was an absence of everything inquisitorial or suspicious; there were no courts or impeachments; every young man had his appointed studies, recitations and attendance at prayers; and a demeanor was required which should not disturb the quiet or order of the institution." Offenders were admonished privately. Those who repeated their offenses were reported to their parents, and chronic insubordinates were dismissed, but the dismissal was never public, and only those immediately concerned knew when a young man's misdeeds had been reported back home.⁴

In the routine of the classroom, Union was less advanced, unless an informality bordering upon laxity can be considered progressive. The recitation method was used, as in most colleges of the period. Each student was given three assignments to be done for the next day, and was allowed to feel that his duty was performed when he had com-

³C. E. West, *An Address at the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Class of 1832* (Brooklyn, 1882), pp. 32-34.

pleted them. The professors confined themselves to hearing and correcting the recitations, and many of them were none too assiduous in doing even that.

Little was done to encourage the students' ambition. There were various honors at commencement which were supposed to go as rewards for scholarship, but widespread suspicions of favoritism in their distribution tended to nullify their effect. This situation was in part corrected, during Potter's student days, by the founding of a chapter of Phi Beta Kappa (the fourth in the country), but the competitive spirit was never encouraged as strongly as, according to American tradition, it should have been.⁵

The physical accommodations at the college were also open to criticism. Cleanliness, as in many parts of America, was a virtue more talked about than practiced, and, as a result, the students were never able to free themselves from the annoyance of bedbugs, but for this discomfort they received some compensation in the low cost of their education. One student, not long after Potter's time, found that he could live "like a prince" on a total outlay, for two years, of \$342.61⁶

Whatever its limitations, Union College, under Dr. Nott, left upon the minds of its students an impression which they retained with gratitude throughout their lives, and its graduates included a notable number of men who were to make important contributions to the development of American life. William Henry Seward, Lincoln's Secretary of State, has already been mentioned. Besides him, there were such leaders as Francis Wayland, an influential reformer, and president of Brown University; John W. Raymond, first president of Vassar College; Nathaniel P. Tallmadge, United States Senator; and Chancellor William Kent, one of New York State's great judges.

Union also made a significant contribution to the leadership of the Episcopal Church. At least four bishops, during the first half of the nineteenth century, were among its alumni. Besides Alonzo Potter, they were his younger brother, Horatio, sixth bishop of New York; Thomas Church Brownell, third bishop of Connecticut; and George Washington Doane, second bishop of New Jersey.⁷ Bishop Brownell once declared that he owed more to President Nott than to

⁴F. H. Seward, *William H. Seward: An Autobiography from 1801-1834 with a Memoir of His Life and Selections from His Letters, 1831-1846* (New York, 1891), Vol. I, p. 31.

⁵*West, op. cit.*, p. 33; *Seward, op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 31.

⁶*West, op. cit.*, pp. 13, 35.

⁷*Ibid.*, pp. 34-35; *Howe, op. cit.*, p. 18; *Alonzo Potter, A Discourse Pronounced at Schenectady, July 22, 1845, on the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Founding of Union College (Schenectady, 1845), p. 11.*

any other man then living—a feeling which was undoubtedly shared by many of his fellow students.⁸

If Potter's character had already begun to form along the lines which it later displayed, there must have been much to irritate in the casualness of the life at Union, for he was, in later years, a man of orderly habits and a strict disciplinarian, but he felt the attraction of the president's personality sufficiently to accept the offer of a position as tutor in the college shortly after his graduation. Two years later, at the age of twenty-one, he married Dr. Nott's only daughter, Sarah Maria, and was made professor of mathematics and natural history in the college. Whether the two events were connected or merely coincidental is a question which cannot, at this late date, be decided, but if any element of nepotism did enter into the appointment, it was justified by the event, for Potter proved himself a conscientious and capable teacher, who, if less gifted than his distinguished father-in-law, was able to supply a needed element of regularity and discipline in the latter's easy-going administration.

So well, indeed, did the young professor acquit himself that, in 1825, he was offered the presidency of three-year-old Geneva (now Hobart) College in western New York. This offer, to which no suspicion of favoritism could be attached, showed the high estimate placed upon Potter's ability by the all-powerful Bishop John Henry Hobart of New York, but it was declined, and Potter remained at Union for another year, at the end of which he accepted a call to the parochial ministry.⁹

As has already been stated, Potter had been brought up a Quaker. What the influences were that drew him toward the Episcopal Church are not known. It is possible that he became acquainted with its services while studying in Poughkeepsie, but all that is definitely known is that he decided to become an Episcopalian shortly after his graduation from college, while on a visit to an older brother in Philadelphia. At the same time he determined to enter the ministry.

He secured admission as a candidate for orders in his home state of New York, but was soon afterward transferred to Pennsylvania,¹⁰ where he studied for a few months under the Reverend Samuel H. Turner, then acting as diocesan superintendent of theological education, but soon to become one of the first professors in General Seminary. This connection was interrupted by Potter's return to Union, but his

⁸*Stevens, op. cit.*, p. 9.

⁹*Ibid.*, pp. 8-10; *Howe, op. cit.*, pp. 18-24.

¹⁰*Diocese of New York, Journal of Convention, 1818 (New York, 1818), p. 15.*

studies were continued, so that he was prepared for ordination to the diaconate as soon as he reached the canonical age of twenty-one.¹¹

The college professor, in the early years of the nineteenth century, did not enjoy the intellectual and social prestige that is his today. A few distinguished individuals, chiefly in the larger colleges, were laying, with patient labor, the foundations of American scholarship, but by most people the position of a college teacher was regarded as a dignified form of semi-retirement which influential friends might secure for a clergyman who had not been successful in parish work or whom age or illness had partially incapacitated.

Potter's youth and early promotion distinguished him, in some measure, from such routine pedagogical hacks, but he very likely felt that both his reputation and his self-respect required the proving of his ability in some field which his contemporaries recognized as important. Perhaps, too, he felt that the work of teaching mathematics and natural philosophy was not specifically religious enough for a young and able-bodied minister. At any rate, when, in 1826, he was asked to become rector of St. Paul's Church, Boston, he accepted the call.¹²

St. Paul's had been founded a few years previously by a number of prominent Bostonians who were admirers of the Reverend Samuel Farnar Jarvis, son of the second bishop of Connecticut. Dr. Jarvis was a distinguished scholar, who, with the Reverend Samuel H. Turner, composed the first faculty of General Theological Seminary. He promptly accepted the call to St. Paul's, partly, it is said, because he was disgusted with the indifference then shown toward the seminary in New York. The situation in which he found himself, though superficially promising, was, in reality, a very difficult one. The fact that the parish had been created for the purpose of securing his services made it equally hard for him to live up to the expectations of the people, and for them to yield him the ready and unquestioning loyalty which, under the circumstances, he naturally expected. The result was a dispute which ended with the vestry's notifying Bishop Griswold that an "irreconcilable difference" existed between the parish and its rector. The bishop, in accordance with the canon, ordered Dr. Jarvis to resign. After some protest, he did so, and Professor Potter was called to succeed him.¹³

Since most experienced clergymen agree that it is better to follow

¹¹Howe, *op. cit.*, pp. 18-19; Stevens, *op. cit.*, p. 18; S. T. Turner, *Autobiography* (New York, 1863), p. 71.

¹²Howe, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

¹³J. S. Stone, *Memoir of the Life of the Rt. Rev. Alexander Viets Griswold, D. D.* (Philadelphia, 1844), pp. 332-38; Turner, *op. cit.*, p. 92; *Diocese of Massachusetts, Journals of Conventions, 1784-1828* (Boston, 1849), pp. 214-15.

an unpopular pastor than a popular one, Potter's position was probably not so difficult as it might have been, but it did call for the exercise of tact and patience. The dismissal of Dr. Jarvis and the dispute connected with it had repercussions throughout the Eastern Diocese, and left scars in the parish which could not be expected to disappear immediately. The new rector carefully ignored the ill feeling that remained and allowed time to perform its healing work. His institution, which marked the first use of that service by Bishop Griswold, served also as an expression of harmony, for the New England prelate was assisted by Bishop Hobart, with whom he had lately had a brief but unpleasant dispute.¹⁴

If Potter's decision to accept a parochial cure had been governed in any degree by the desire to test his ability in a more active field than that of teaching, the experiment was clearly successful. Within a year after his coming to St. Paul's that young parish had passed its venerable sisters, Christ Church and Trinity, to become the largest Episcopal congregation in Boston.¹⁵

In 1829 he was sent by Massachusetts as one of its deputies to General Convention, where he served as chairman of the committee on the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society, and signed a report urging the adoption of some systematic method of raising missionary funds, and the concentration of work in certain areas, so that the resources of the infant organization might not be dissipated through being spread over too wide a field.¹⁶ He also preached the annual sermon before the society's board of directors, making an eloquent appeal for missionary contributions.¹⁷ Later in the same year, he preached before the Connecticut Church Scholarship Society, in Christ Church, Hartford, on behalf of efforts for the increase of the ministry.¹⁸

The prosperity of St. Paul's continued to increase throughout the five years of Potter's incumbency, but the untiring effort which he expended in his pastoral work began to tell upon his never very rugged health. One incident of his rectorship may be mentioned, because it was to have an interesting sequel, though at the time it probably passed unnoticed by anyone but the person principally concerned. The Episcopal Church was still the only Protestant body in New England to mark Christmas with any special observance, and many outsiders consequently came to hear her services, "to see the church dressed in living Christmas green," and to hear what was considered "strange music for the House

¹⁴*Stevens, op. cit.*, p. 11; *Stone, op. cit.*, pp. 337-38.

¹⁵*Diocese of Massachusetts, Journals, 1784-1828*, p. 216.

¹⁶*General Convention, Journal, 1829 (New York, 1829)*, pp. 65-70.

¹⁷*Alonzo Potter, An Appeal on Behalf of Missions (Boston, 1829)*.

¹⁸*Alonzo Potter, A Sermon Delivered in Christ Church, Hartford, before the Connecticut Church Scholarship Society (Boston, 1830)*.

of God." Among those who came for this purpose, to St. Paul's one Christmas was a youth named William Bacon Stevens, the son of Congregational parents, who thus obtained his first glimpse of an Episcopal service. Later this young man was drawn into the ministry of the Church, served for a number of years under Bishop Potter, in Pennsylvania, and eventually became his assistant and successor.¹⁹

Potter had not been in Boston very long before his Union contemporary, George Washington Doane, was called as assistant minister of Trinity Church, of which he shortly became rector. Doane was an enthusiastic partisan, who seldom allowed his talents for political agitation to remain unused, and though he found it difficult to disturb the normally placid waters of the Eastern Diocese, he eventually succeeded in bringing about a disputed election of the standing committee and the deputies to General Convention in Massachusetts.²⁰ The controversy did not come to a head until after Potter had left the diocese, and it did not last long then, being speedily terminated when Doane departed to become bishop of New Jersey, but the knowledge that it was brewing, combined with his own ill health, induced Potter to return to Union when, in 1831, he was urged to accept the chair of Moral and Intellectual Philosophy there.²¹

The philosophy department was generally at that time the most important one in a college. Besides the science of metaphysics, which is now its chief concern, it was responsible for whatever was taught of psychology, literature (except the Greek and Latin classics), and economics. This last-named subject had only recently been introduced into the American curriculum by Professor McVickar of Columbia, and the fact that it was included in Professor Potter's work attests the progressiveness of Union.²²

Potter's second sojourn in Schenectady lasted for fourteen years and covered what was generally conceded to be the most prosperous period in the early history of Union College. It was the period during which Dr. Nott's ability and reputation reached their meridian, and it was the period, also, during which he had the assistance of one whose

¹⁹Stevens, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

²⁰J. H. Hopkins, Sr., *Defence of the Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the State of Massachusetts* (Boston, 1832); J. H. Hopkins, Jr., *The Life of the Right Reverend John Henry Hopkins* (New York, 1873), pp. 147-55. It should, perhaps, be explained that the Eastern Diocese was a federation, including Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont, in which the member dioceses, while united under the administration of a single bishop, retained their separate diocesan organizations.

²¹Howe, *op. cit.*, p. 52. He was succeeded at St. Paul's by another alumnus of Union, the Rev. John S. Stone.

²²W. A. McVickar, *The Life of the Reverend John McVickar, S. T. D.* (New York, 1872), p. 84.

conscientiousness, regularity, and disciplinary skill compensated for the major deficiencies in his genius. As head of the most important department and son-in-law of the president, Potter was looked upon from the start as second in command, and in 1838 he had this rank regularly conferred upon him, being given the title of vice-president.²³

Years which pass unnoticed in the calm routine of academic life furnish a biographer with little to relate. During his second stay at Union, Potter produced a number of textbooks and compendia bearing on the various subjects which he was required to teach, and delivered occasional addresses outside of the college.²⁴ He was interested in a number of causes which expressed the reform spirit of the day. He supported efforts for the education of Negroes in New York State, and became an early adherent of the temperance movement. He took some interest in the campaign for public schools, of which Dr. Nott was an outstanding leader, and contributed some of his own time to the teaching of "mechanics and apprentices."²⁵

Perhaps the most significant items in the record of this period are the positions which were offered to Potter and declined by him, as they show both his expanding reputation, and his attachment to Union. In 1835 he rejected an invitation to become professor of ecclesiastical history in General Theological Seminary, and a call to the rectorship of Grace Church, Boston, a parish recently converted bodily from the Presbyterian Church.²⁶ In 1838 an effort was made to secure his services as assistant bishop of the Eastern Diocese, with the expectation of his eventually becoming bishop of Massachusetts.

The Eastern Diocese, which, until 1832, when Vermont dropped out, had included all of the New England states except Connecticut, was a loose federation created solely for the purpose of securing to the constituent states the services of a single bishop. Its canonical status had never been clearly determined, and by 1838 it was taken for granted by nearly everyone that it would be dissolved on the death of Bishop Griswold, for it was only held together by the unwillingness of the member dioceses to surrender their claim to the services of that beloved leader. When, therefore, Griswold's advanced age made

²³Howe, *op. cit.*, p. 59; *Address of Governor Hoffman, in Proceedings at the Inauguration, together with the Annual Report of the President of Union College (Albany, 1872)*, p. 6; West, *op. cit.*, pp. 33-34.

²⁴Alonzo Potter, *The Principles of Science Applied to the Domestic and Mechanic Arts, and to Manufactures and Agriculture (Boston, 1840)*; *The School: Its Objects, Relations and Uses (New York, 1842)*; *Handbook for Readers and Students (New York, 1843)*; ed., *Discourses on the Objects and Uses of Science and Literature*, by Henry, Lord Brougham (New York, 1843); ed., *Paley's Natural Theology (New York, 1842)*.

²⁵Howe, *op. cit.*, pp. 63-64, 74-78; Alonzo Potter, *Christian Philanthropy (Schenectady, 1833)*.

²⁶Howe, *op. cit.*, pp. 61-62.

it desirable that an assistant bishop should be chosen, the problem arose of providing a diocese for the assistant to succeed to, as the canons did not then make any provision for bishops suffragan.

It was finally decided that a candidate should be nominated by the federal convention and elected by one of the diocesan conventions as coadjutor of that particular diocese. This plan was carried out, and Professor Potter was thus nominated and elected assistant bishop of Massachusetts. The choice was an acceptable one to nearly everybody, but there were some who were inclined to doubt the regularity of the proceedings upon technical grounds.²⁷

While the election was taking place, Potter was in Europe, where he had gone in the hope of restoring his health. When he returned to the United States, he declined the office, giving as reasons his poor physical condition, and his obligations to Union, which had just made him vice-president. It is possible that he was also influenced by the doubtful regularity of his election and the absence of any provision for his financial support, a circumstance which, as Bishop Howe observes, "few persons would pronounce . . . unworthy of consideration by a man already committed by Divine Providence to the maintenance of a family of six children."²⁸

Shortly after declining this election, Professor Potter was urged to let his name be used as a candidate for the episcopate in the newly organized diocese of Western New York, in the hope that both parties might be induced to unite in the choice of one so well known for moderation and fairness, and that a bitter conflict might thus be avoided. This request he also declined.

As his reputation increased, he naturally became the recipient of a number of honorary degrees. The first institution thus to recognize his attainments was Kenyon College, in Ohio, which gave him the degree of D. D. in 1834. Nine years later Harvard gave him the same degree. Union, naturally, refrained from honoring him while he was on her faculty but awarded him an LL. D. shortly after he became bishop of Pennsylvania.²⁹

Concerning Potter's ability in the principal field of study for which he was responsible at Union, his eulogist has said, "There was scarcely a leading dogma of the Oriental, Greek, Scholastic, German, French, Scotch or English philosophy, from the academic school of Plato down to the school of Kant, and Hegel, and Hamilton, which he had not mas-

²⁷Stone, *op. cit.*, p. 409; *Eastern Diocese, Journal of Adjourned Convention, 1838* (Boston, 1838), p. 14-15; *Diocese of Massachusetts, Journal of Convention, 1838* (Boston 1838), p. 63.

²⁸Howe, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

²⁹*Ibid.*, p. 98.

tered."³⁰ Such an achievement, if genuine, would make him a unique figure in the history of philosophic studies, and the tribute must be taken as an example of the fulsome language of our ancestors, who thought it a dull thing to call a spade a spade, when it was just as easy to describe it as the largest shovel on earth. His own writings show him to have possessed an adequate pedagogical competence in his field, and that is more than could be said of many who presumed to teach in American colleges in his day.

Potter's theory of education—formed, no doubt, under the influence of his great teacher—was best expressed in a speech which he delivered at his last commencement, and which served both as the principal address in the semi-centennial commemoration, which was held that year, and as a personal valedictory. "That it is," he said, "the object of all education to rear up minds of a large and comprehensive spirit, full of reverence for the right and the true, bent alike on self-improvement and the improvement of the world—is a fact never to be forgotten. We should consider that we educate men not to be pliant creatures of outward influence, but to be armed with a force and independence that can breast itself against the despotism of public opinion, against the capricious tyranny of fashion and the unrelenting exactions of party and of passion."³¹

The call which finally drew Potter away from Union was attended with circumstances which made it seem to be clearly a call of duty. The Right Reverend Henry Ustick Onderdonk, second bishop of Pennsylvania, had been elected as assistant to Bishop William White in 1827, after a long and bitter contest, in which the High Church party won a victory that left their opponents angry and resentful.³² The new bishop was a conscientious, hard-working, kindly man, and in time the ill-feeling toward him died down, but it flared up again in the early forties, when he showed himself sympathetic to the newly imported tenets of the Oxford Movement.

Unfortunately, Bishop Onderdonk's own indiscretion had placed a weapon in the hands of his enemies and caused embarrassment even to those who were disposed to be his friends. Within a few years after his consecration, he began to suffer from a chronic intestinal disorder, which caused him a good deal of pain. Having been a physician before he entered the ministry, he unwisely attempted to treat himself. Dis-

³⁰*Stevens, op. cit., p. 55.*

³¹*Potter, Anniversary Discourse, p. 19.*

³²*Diocese of Pennsylvania, Journal of Convention, 1827 (Philadelphia, 1827), pp. 7-8; Bird Wilson, Memoir of the Life of the Right Reverend William White, D. D. (Philadelphia, 1839), pp. 216-25; Benjamin Allen, A Letter to the Right Reverend John Henry Hobart, D. D. (Philadelphia, 1827); Second Letter to the Right Reverend John Henry Hobart, D. D. (Philadelphia, 1827).*

covering that brandy and water brought him temporary relief, he fell into the habit of taking large doses of this dubious remedy whenever his complaint was especially troublesome. Whether or not he ever became intoxicated as a result of this practice is a question upon which he and his accusers disagreed, and it is not easy to decide between them, since definitions of drunkenness vary widely, but he was evidently affected enough for his habit to become generally known.

As a result, a number of his clergy decided that some action must be taken. Shortly after the diocesan convention of 1844, a committee of ten of them confronted him with a set of charges which they said had been prepared by "a large number of the presbyters of this diocese", during the convention, though no intimation of their proceedings had been given to him at that time. Onderdonk, though denying that he had ever been inebriated, promptly called a special convention to which he submitted his resignation as diocesan, on the ground that the mental distress caused by the charges had greatly aggravated his illness. This maneuver, so obviously intended as a means of evading a formal trial, would make us skeptical of the bishop's protestations of innocence, if its ready acceptance by his opponents did not suggest some uncertainty as to the strength of the case for their side.

When the bishop's resignation was read to the convention, Lewis R. Ashurst, lay deputy from the Evangelical Church of the Epiphany, moved that it be accepted. Horace Binney, lay deputy from Christ Church, who spoke for the High Church interests, offered a substitute resolution which declared that Onderdonk ought not, in fairness both to the diocese and to himself, to be allowed to resign without a hearing on the charges; that ill health was not a sufficient reason for an episcopal resignation; and that it was uncanonical to accept such a resignation for any reasons except those given in it.

This substitute was rejected, but before the delegates could vote on the original motion, they received a communication from the bishop withdrawing his resignation on the ground that the convention had shown an intention of connecting it with the charges of misconduct, an impression which must have been obtained from the speeches of the members, for the resolution actually before the house said nothing of the reasons for resigning. The president of the convention, the Reverend Levi Bull, ruled that the resignation could not be withdrawn while it was before the meeting, and the majority sustained his ruling, whereupon the motion of acceptance was passed.³³

Under the existing canon, passed in 1832, when a bishop's resig-

³³*Diocese of Pennsylvania, Journal of Special Convention, 1844 (Philadelphia, 1844).*

nation had been accepted by a two-thirds majority of each order in his diocesan convention, it must be referred to General Convention, where it had to be approved by two-thirds of the House of Deputies and a majority of the House of Bishops, before it could take effect.³⁴

When the Diocese of Pennsylvania submitted the records bearing upon Bishop Onderdonk's retirement to the General Convention of 1844, the leaders of that body decided to change the procedure before dealing with the case, either because they were uncertain of being able to obtain a two-thirds vote in the lower house, or because they entertained some doubt as to the regularity of the action taken in Pennsylvania. A new canon was passed providing that a bishop might submit his resignation directly to the House of Bishops, and that it could be accepted by a majority of that body.

Onderdonk resigned again under this new law, and his withdrawal was accepted, but his brother bishops were not through with him even then. They exacted from him an admission of "indiscretion" in the use of intoxicants, and, on the strength of that confession, sentenced him to suspension from the ministry for an indefinite period.³⁵

The Diocese of Pennsylvania was thus left without a head, and the convention of 1845, after resolving that the bishop's salary should be \$3,500, to be made up from collections, until the episcopal fund should yield that amount, proceeded to an election which threatened for a time to be as bitter a contest as that of 1827. The High Churchmen voted for the Reverend Samuel Bowman, rector of St. James' Church, Lancaster. The Low Churchmen voted first for the Reverend Stephen H. Tyng, rector of the Church of the Epiphany, Philadelphia, and, after his name was withdrawn, for the Reverend Thomas M. Clark of St. Andrew's Church, Philadelphia, who later became bishop of Rhode Island and Presiding Bishop.

On the fifth ballot the clergy, by a majority of one, nominated Bowman, but the laity rejected him. When the next ballot showed that the High Church vote was still going to win, a committee was appointed to propose a candidate who might be acceptable to the whole convention. The committee reported next day that it was unable to agree, but a compromise had evidently been arranged unofficially, for on the seventh ballot Alonzo Potter, who had before received only one or two votes, was given forty-one, a majority of three, with the second place going to his High Church brother, Horatio Potter, subsequently

³⁴*Canons of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America (New York, 1841), p. 17.*

³⁵*General Convention, Journal, 1844 (New York, 1845), pp. 18-20, 44, 54-55, 171-72, 200.*

bishop of New York. The lay deputies immediately gave him their unanimous approval.³⁶

It is possible that his personal feeling respecting a departure from Union had undergone a change since his call to the Eastern Diocese in 1838, for one of the bonds which held him to the college and its president had been severed with the death of his wife in 1839,³⁷ but, in any case, with the circumstances of his election giving such a clear indication that his acceptance would bring peace to a distracted diocese, it must have appeared to one so conscientious that only a positive conviction of incapacity could justify a refusal. It is not surprising, therefore, to learn that he heeded the call, and bade a reluctant farewell to the institution which had been the scene of his quiet and congenial labors for so many years.

One academic responsibility remained, which had to be fulfilled even after he became bishop. He had promised to deliver a number of courses of lectures on religion before the Lowell Institute of Boston, and he was compelled to absent himself from his diocese during a portion of several winters in order to keep this promise. The lectures were collected and published, after his death, by his son, President Eliphalet Nott Potter, of Union. Though they do not show any marked originality of thought, they display a competent knowledge of the science of apologetics as it was then understood.³⁸

The early decades of the nineteenth century formed a period of religious fluidity. American Christianity generally regained the ground that it had lost to Deism during the closing years of the eighteenth century, and its various denominations engaged in a vigorous competition with one another, not only for the newly settled regions in the west, but for the older parts of the country as well.

The shift in denominational alignments which resulted from this competition reached its climax in the thirties, and began to slow down in the forties, with the consequence that, since the taking of the first federal religious census in 1850, the only major Christian groups in whose relative standing there has been any important change, with the exception of the Disciples, have been those which, like the Roman Catholic and Lutheran churches, have profited heavily from immigration.

The Episcopal Church, though it did not gain as much as some denominations in the period of competition, did grow quite rapidly during the latter part of it, and emerged as sixth in size among American

³⁶*Diocese of Pennsylvania, Journal of Convention, 1845 (Philadelphia, 1845), pp. 33-46.*

³⁷Howe, *op. cit.*, p. 91. He was twice remarried, his third marriage taking place the year of his death.

³⁸Howe, *op. cit.*, pp. 120-21; Alonzo Potter, *Religious Philosophy; or Nature, Man and the Bible Witnessing to God and to Religious Truth (Philadelphia, 1872).*

religious bodies. After 1840, it settled down, as did the other denominations, to a steady but slower rate of growth, so that, when the most recent religious census was published, it still held sixth place.³⁹

As the commencement of Potter's episcopate corresponded roughly with the beginning of the period of slower growth, and as the diocese over which he presided was located in an eastern state, it was not to be expected that he could achieve the sensational results that were attained by some of the earlier bishops, and by a few western bishops even later. He did succeed, in the face of many difficulties, in obtaining a steady and substantial advance. During the twenty years of his oversight, the number of ministers in the diocese increased from 127 to 233, or 83.4 per cent, and the number of parishes from 127 to 220, or 73.2 per cent.⁴⁰

The Diocese of Pennsylvania was not divided until the year of Potter's death, and an assistant bishop was not elected until 1858, so that for thirteen years the administration of the Church throughout the entire state rested upon his shoulders. As he tried to reach all, or nearly all, of the parishes every year, the task of visitation alone was a heavy one, especially under the conditions of travel then prevailing. At the time of his elevation to the episcopate, it was possible to cross the state, from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh, in three days, using railroad, stage coach, and canal, but the facilities for reaching places not on the main line of travel were much less advanced.⁴¹ In reporting his primary visitation, in 1846, he stated that he had traveled 1,800 miles, "principally in private conveyances"—an expression which probably covered everything from the well-appointed carriages of wealthy Philadelphians to the farmer's buckboard.⁴²

Though he sought to visit as many parishes as possible every year, he did not wish his clergy to feel that they must, regardless of the spiritual condition of their congregation, have a class of candidates ready to be confirmed every time he came. Holding that, like adult baptism, confirmation "ought to be administered only to those who are firmly purposed to lead a religious life, and to separate themselves from the sinful practices and corrupting vanities of the world," he accorded to each rector an "unfettered discretion" as to whether or not confirmation should be administered at any visit.⁴³ On the other hand, when con-

³⁹*Census of Religious Bodies, 1916* (Washington, 1919), p. 24; *Census of Religious Bodies, 1926* (Washington, 1930), pp. 92-106, 278-86.

⁴⁰*General Convention, Journal, 1847* (New York, 1847), p. 223; *Journal, 1865* (Boston, 1865), p. 264.

⁴¹*Seymour Dunbar, A History of Travel in America* (New York, 1937), p. 1097.

⁴²*Diocese of Pennsylvania, Journal of Convention, 1846* (Philadelphia, 1846), pp. 20-21.

⁴³*Diocese of Pennsylvania, Journal of Convention, 1847* (Philadelphia, 1847), p. 41.

ditions warranted it, he was willing to confirm two classes in a parish in one year, as he found that sometimes those who were hesitant at first were prepared to receive the rite after seeing it performed on others.⁴⁴

One of the major problems of every bishop is to maintain an adequate flow of missionary funds to support the work of the diocese, and to enable it to bear its proper share in the general program of the Church. Potter's interest in missions had been shown at the General Convention of 1829, when he served as chairman of the committee on the missionary society and delivered the annual address before its governing board. As bishop he constantly urged his diocese to greater missionary efforts, and, in 1851, he issued a special pastoral letter on the subject, in which, after pointing out that the diocesan contributions to the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society average no more than eight cents a worshiper, that over a third of the parishes contributed nothing, and that gifts to diocesan missions were only a little more generous, he urged that certain days should be set apart for sermons on and collections for missions.⁴⁵

Although, as late as 1854, Potter expressed the opinion that the General Convention of 1835 had made a mistake in placing the missionary work of the Church under its own control, instead of leaving it in the hands of a society composed of people actively interested in missions, he came eventually, as a result of his own experience, to realize the desirability of having such work coordinated under official leadership.⁴⁶

For some time, the diocesan missions of Pennsylvania had been supported by two separate organizations, the Society for the Advancement of Christianity in Pennsylvania, and the Missionary Society, both of which were entirely independent of the convention. In 1857, while acknowledging the ready cooperation which he had received from the leaders of both of these bodies, Potter pointed out the disadvantages of such a division of authority, and proposed the unification of the diocese's missionary efforts as a subject for future consideration.⁴⁷

In 1858, a committee was appointed to work out a plan of co-

⁴⁴*Diocese of Pennsylvania, Journal of Convention, 1857* (Philadelphia, 1857), p. 33.

⁴⁵Alonzo Potter, *Discourses, Charges, Addresses, Pastoral Letters, etc., etc.* (Philadelphia, 1858), pp. 329-46. It should not be inferred from Potter's remarks that Pennsylvania lagged behind other dioceses in its missionary giving. On the contrary, it had been, from the start, one of the chief supporters of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society.

⁴⁶*Diocese of Pennsylvania, Journal of Convention, 1854* (Philadelphia, 1854), p. 34.

⁴⁷*Diocese of Pennsylvania, Journal, 1857*, pp. 39-40.

ordination which would place the diocesan missions either under a society composed of representatives of all of the parishes, with the bishop as president, or under a committee of the convention, with the bishop as chairman.⁴⁸ At the next convention, the second of these plans was adopted, and resolutions were passed in favor of creating a board of missions, composed of twelve clergymen and twelve laymen, with the bishop at their head, to be appointed, one-third every three years, by the standing committee, with episcopal approval. This board was to take over the work as soon as the Society for the Advancement of Christianity and the Missionary Society should agree to withdraw from the field.⁴⁹

No difficulty was encountered in respect to this last point, which had probably been arranged informally in advance, and in 1860 the new board reported that it had begun work. It had agreed to continue all of the stations of the two former societies for at least three months, and had adopted the policy of not working in "large cities" (i. e., Philadelphia), holding that city missions could best be supported locally. It had no power to levy a formal assessment upon the parishes, but it did "suggest" to each the amount which it ought to contribute.⁵⁰

Other proposals for the more effective administration of diocesan missions were made from time to time by Potter and others, but were either not carried out, or carried out only in part. In 1848, on the motion of the Reverend Robert Davis, a committee, with Potter as chairman, was appointed to consider the expediency of dividing the diocese into twelve missionary districts, to be laid out by the bishop, with a presbyter in charge of each, and each with a central "home," which could serve as a school for theological students and a "retreat for the infirm and superannuated clergy of the district."⁵¹ The committee reported to the next convention that it thought inadvisable to adopt the plan at that time, though it contained much that was "worthy of consideration," and might be taken up at some future date.⁵²

In 1851, Potter expressed the wish that "district missionaries" might be appointed to itinerate through one or more counties, visiting scattered Episcopalians, and starting new churches. One such missionary, the Reverend William H. Paddock, had, he said, been employed with satis-

⁴⁸*Diocese of Pennsylvania, Journal of Convention, 1858 (Philadelphia, 1858), pp. 68-69.*

⁴⁹*Diocese of Pennsylvania, Journal of Convention, 1859 (Philadelphia, 1859), pp. 65-66, 76-77.*

⁵⁰*Diocese of Pennsylvania, Journal of Convention, 1860 (Philadelphia, 1860), pp. 191-202.*

⁵¹*Diocese of Pennsylvania, Journal of Convention, 1848 (Philadelphia, 1848), p. 53.*

⁵²*Diocese of Pennsylvania, Journal of Convention, 1849 (Philadelphia, 1849), p. 52.*

factory results, during the preceding year, in Beaver, Lawrence, Indiana and Westmoreland counties, but the suggestion was not followed up.⁵³ Itinerancy, for some reason, has never been popular with Episcopalians.

In 1857, at the same time that he suggested merging the work of the two voluntary societies under a single authority, the bishop proposed a seven-point program of missionary work, which was never completely carried out, but which furnishes us with an excellent view of the objectives which he was seeking to attain. His proposals were: (1) That the whole sum to be raised in the diocese for missions should increase every year; (2) that new and promising parishes be given the preference over those long aided, and sections with increasing population over those which were static or declining; (3) that declining parishes be combined with others; (4) that the diocese be divided into four sections, each with an itinerant missionary, to work in places where no parish had been organized; (5) "that in each of these districts an efficient system of lay agency, both voluntary and paid, be established in connection with Mission Sunday-Schools;" (6) that when work was started in new communities, enough land be acquired for a church, parsonage, and Sunday-school building, but that the buildings at first erected be cheap and plain; and, (7) "that in many cases, it is better to strengthen and encourage positions already taken, than to occupy new ones."⁵⁴

The second and last points in this program may, at first sight, seem to be contradictory, but they are not really so. In a sound missionary economy, equal care should be taken to avoid the too ready abandonment of stations which are difficult but promising, and the too stubborn persistence in maintaining those which are hopeless.

One agency which Potter was able to use with some success in missionary work was the clerical convocation, an institution of which he was an earnest advocate throughout his episcopate, both because of its possibilities as an evangelizing agency, and because of the opportunities which it presented for more frequent intercourse among the clergy. In his second convention address (1847) he spoke of having met with a convocation of the ministers in the western part of the diocese.⁵⁵ In 1848, he noted, with satisfaction, that he had attended four such assemblies.⁵⁶ In 1861, he reported that the system had been extended to cover a large part of the diocese,⁵⁷ and in 1863 he stated

⁵³*Diocese of Pennsylvania, Journal of Convention, 1851 (Philadelphia, 1851), pp. 31-32.*

⁵⁴*Diocese of Pennsylvania, Journal, 1857, pp. 39-40.*

⁵⁵*Diocese of Pennsylvania, Journal, 1847, pp. 27-28.*

⁵⁶*Diocese of Pennsylvania, Journal, 1848, p. 39.*

⁵⁷*Diocese of Pennsylvania, Journal of Convention, 1861 (Philadelphia, 1861), p. 39.*

that the convocations were increasing their missionary activity.⁵⁸ In his last address (1865) he spoke of them as "working with diligence and with considerable effect."⁵⁹

By 1845, when Potter's episcopate began, the Sunday school had already become as much an accepted part of the Church's program as it is today, having long since lost its original character as a charity school and become an instrument of denominational religious teaching. Potter was fully alive to both the advantages and dangers of the institution. He was always a staunch advocate of Sunday schools properly run, but he often warned against the dangers which might arise from their abuse, especially if rectors and parents made them an excuse for shirking their own responsibilities for the religious instruction of the children subject to their care.

During his first year as bishop he arranged a series of lectures on Sunday school work by leading clergymen of the diocese. He himself delivered the concluding lecture, on the advantages of Sunday schools, and published the substance of it as a pastoral letter, which was reprinted as a tract by the diocese of Massachusetts.⁶⁰ In 1850, he recommended the use of the catechism and the services of the Prayer Book in Sunday schools, and the more careful selection of teachers.⁶¹

Bishop Hobart, of New York, the great leader of the High Churchmen in the early nineteenth century, had made the question of participation in Bible societies and other interdenominational religious agencies a party issue among Episcopalians, and though feeling on the subject had died down in some measure since his death in 1830, it was still a controversial topic. Potter, following the precedent set by Bishop White, who served as first president of the Pennsylvania Bible Society, advocated the support of organizations for the distribution of the Scriptures, but was disposed to hold aloof from some other interdenominational associations, such as tract and Sunday school societies, on the ground that, in order to make the material they published unobjectionable to their differing constituents, they were obliged to keep silent on many important questions of principle.⁶²

The great limitation upon Christian preaching is that it can take

⁵⁸*Diocese of Pennsylvania, Journal of Convention, 1863 (Philadelphia, 1863), p. 41.*

⁵⁹*Diocese of Pennsylvania, Journal of Convention, 1865 (Philadelphia, 1865), p. 37.*

⁶⁰Alonzo Potter, *The Uses and Advantages of Sunday Schools (Boston, 1846); Discourses, pp. 301-26.* Cf. also, *Diocese of Pennsylvania, Journal, 1851, p. 30.*

⁶¹*Diocese of Pennsylvania, Journal of Convention, 1850 (Philadelphia, 1850), p. 26.*

⁶²*Ibid., pp. 28-29; Letter to the Rt. Rev. Alonzo Potter, D. D., Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Pennsylvania, in Vindication of the Principle of Christian Union for the Propagation of the Gospel (Philadelphia, 1850), pp. 3-4.*

effect, directly, at least, only on those who come to church. How to reach and influence those who will not come is a problem which always confronts Christian leaders, but which is frequently dismissed as insoluble. Potter attempted to solve it, and the measures which he advocated for doing so were productive of some fruit.

In the convention of 1852 a resolution, approved, if not inspired, by him, was passed to the effect "That the Bishop be requested (if he see fit) to encourage the experiment of field and room preaching, in order that the Convention may hereafter the better judge of this mode of reaching a portion of the population of cities now beyond the ordinary means of grace."⁶³ The cautious wording of this motion was doubtless adopted to avoid frightening the conservatives of the diocese. "Field preaching" meant preaching in the open air, after the manner of Whitefield and other revivalists. "Room preaching" meant preaching in private houses, where people could sometimes be gathered who were unwilling or unable to attend more formal services. In his next address, Potter reported that no one had been found bold enough to try "field preaching," but that the practice of "room preaching" had been extended to a number of parishes and had met with considerable success.⁶⁴

This practice was continued and elaborated in some localities during the following decade, and in 1861 and 1862 we find Potter urging the extension throughout the diocese of a system of parochial evangelization which included dividing the parish into precincts, holding a house-to-house canvass, and gathering people into "cottage meetings" for "prayers, hymns, reading of the Scriptures, and familiar lectures." These meetings, which were run by the laity under the general superintendence of the rector, were successful in bringing a number of people into the Church.⁶⁵

The problem of holding the young people in the Church was one which grew increasingly serious during Potter's episcopate. The anti-Christian deism of the revolutionary era had succumbed, in the early years of the nineteenth century, to the attacks of a revivalistic form of Christianity which proved that religion could be even more exciting than unbelief. As the century advanced, however, a new skepticism began to develop which was at once more sober and more deeply rooted than the cocksure philosophy of the Enlightenment, for it was the re-

⁶³*Diocese of Pennsylvania, Journal of Convention, 1852 (Philadelphia, 1852), p. 54.*

⁶⁴*Diocese of Pennsylvania, Journal of Convention, 1853 (Philadelphia, 1853), p. 30.*

⁶⁵*General Convention, Journal, 1862 (Boston, 1863), p. 211; Diocese of Pennsylvania, Journal, 1861, p. 36.*

sult of a genuine intellectual conflict, created, in a large measure, by the leaders of Christianity themselves.

By setting up an infallible Bible as a bar to the scientific investigation of the development of man and the world he lives in, these leaders caused an increasing number of thoughtful young men to find themselves in the position so vividly described by Edmund Gosse in *Father and Son*. Convinced that the new scientific theories could not be rejected without a violation of their own intellectual integrity, and confronted by their pious elders with the necessity of choosing between those theories and Christianity, these young thinkers decided, often reluctantly, to reject the latter.

In addition to this intellectual difficulty, which at first affected only the most thoughtful, there was the socio-religious problem created by the increasing drift to the cities. Young men who left their homes in the country to make their fortunes in large urban centers, such as Philadelphia, often found their new environment so exciting or so difficult that they forgot about their church; or else, missing the friendliness of the country parish, where they knew everyone, they did not feel at home in the large congregations that they found in the city.

With both of these phases of the youth problem, Potter attempted to deal, using the methods which were thought most effective in his day. To reach the socially uprooted youth in Philadelphia, he established a society known as the Brotherhood of the Protestant Episcopal Church, and opened a Church reading room, asking the clergy in other parts of the state and country to furnish the director of the room with the names of any young men who might be going to Philadelphia from their parishes.⁶⁶

For those who were troubled with intellectual doubts, he arranged, in the fall and winter of 1853-54, a series of lectures on Christian Evidences by prominent ministers of the Church, but it is doubtful if they were very effective. Most of the writers adopted a type of apologetics which, though it had been standard since the time of Grotius, was rapidly becoming obsolete, and those who dealt at all with the popular issue of science versus religion only accentuated the needless conflict by attacking the dominant schools of thought in the fields of geology and biology.⁶⁷ At that time, it would have been impossible, in America, at least, to assemble a group of orthodox Christian theologians who would have taken any other attitude.

More local to Pennsylvania, but symptomatic of the general industrial development of the country, was the problem of reaching the laborers who were being imported to operate the coal mines which were

⁶⁶*Diocese of Pennsylvania, Journal, 1852, p. 51.*

⁶⁷*Alonso Potter, Lectures on the Evidences of Christianity (Philadelphia, 1855).*

opening up in the central part of the state. Many of these workers came from Wales, where some of them had been affiliated with the Church of England, so Potter felt that the Episcopal Church had a special responsibility toward them.⁶⁸ In 1849, he employed two candidates for the ministry, Samuel Clements and Richard B. Duane, to explore the region and investigate its possibilities. They made a month's tour of the area, distributed Bibles, Prayer Books and tracts, and submitted a detailed report, which served as a guide to further operations.⁶⁹

Near the end of Potter's life, the rapid exploitation of Pennsylvania's oil resources gave the Church another boom district to deal with. The bishop was characteristically prompt in his recognition of the problem and in his attempt to solve it, but for all his efforts the Church was no more successful in reaching the mine and oil workers in Pennsylvania than it had been in winning the proletariat elsewhere.⁷⁰

Another group for whom special efforts were necessary was composed of the sailors who thronged the port of Philadelphia. The ingenious and devoted founder of the Church's work among seamen in New York City, the Reverend Benjamin Clarke Cutler Parker, a son of the second bishop of Massachusetts, had formed the plan of luring sailors to Church by erecting a floating chapel.⁷¹ Such a structure, besides seeming more homelike to the old salts, had the additional advantages of cheapness and mobility. In 1848, Potter organized the Churchman's Missionary Association for Seamen of the Port of Philadelphia, which built and operated a floating chapel in that city.⁷²

Two difficulties which the bishop regarded as hampering the work of the diocese, and which he believed to be in some measure related, were the inadequate salaries paid to many of the clergy, and the frequency with which they changed pastorates. The salary problem was accentuated by the fact that the early fifties were a period of rising prices. In 1853, acknowledging an increase in his own stipend, Potter urged that the salaries of ministers be raised throughout the diocese.⁷³ As a result of his suggestion, a committee was appointed which reported at the next convention that eleven parishes in the diocese paid their ministers \$2,000 or more; ten paid from \$1,000 to \$1,500; thirty-

⁶⁸*Diocese of Pennsylvania, Journal, 1848, p. 41.*

⁶⁹*Diocese of Pennsylvania, Journal, 1849, p. 35.*

⁷⁰*Diocese of Pennsylvania, Journal of Convention, 1862 (Philadelphia, 1862), p. 34.*

⁷¹*Spirit of Missions (New York, 1845), X, 8-9; Horatio Gray, Memoirs of the Rev. Benjamin C. Cutler, D. D., Late Rector of St. Ann's Church, Brooklyn, N. Y. (New York, 1865), p. 313.*

⁷²*Alonzo Potter, A Sermon before the Churchman's Missionary Association for Seamen of the Port of Philadelphia (Philadelphia, 1848); Discourses, pp. 249-70; Diocese of Pennsylvania, Journal, 1849, pp. 29-30, 59.*

⁷³*Diocese of Pennsylvania, Journal, 1853, pp. 28-29.*

two paid \$500 to \$1,000; and thirty-five paid less than \$500, the average salary in this group being \$184.52.

"It is presumed," said the committee, "that on a salary of \$500, by dint of the most rigid economy on the part of both husband and wife, in the cheapest part of the Diocese, a clergyman with a small family may possibly manage to keep soul and body together." The convention resolved that the minimum salaries ought to be \$500 for a single man and \$750 for a married one; that the vestries should be urged to "adopt the most vigorous measures" to secure the payment of such salaries; and that the bishop should be asked to present the subject to the diocese in whatever manner he thought most suitable.⁷⁴ It is probable that these resolutions produced some improvement, for the subject was not again agitated until the Civil War had sent prices skyrocketing beyond any level that the fifties had dreamed of.⁷⁵

Potter more than once complained, in his addresses, of the frequent changes of pastors in many places, holding that, whatever might be true in other denominations, in the Episcopal Church the best results were to be expected from a permanent union between rector and parish, but his complaints produced little result. In 1854, he remarked that twenty-five parishes had suffered the loss of a minister or assistant minister since the preceding convention, and that there were only twelve parishes out of more than a hundred in the state outside of Philadelphia county, which had not changed pastors once or more in the nine years since he became bishop. In the fact that changes were less frequent in Philadelphia, where the churches were larger, he saw an indication that the instability he complained of was in part the result of the inadequate salaries paid in smaller parishes.⁷⁶

The bishop's interest in education did not cease when he terminated his professorial career, but continued to be manifest in a number of ways throughout his episcopate. He took an active interest in the Episcopal Academy in Philadelphia, which had been founded by Bishop White, and sought, with partial success, to make it the nucleus of a general system of diocesan schools. In 1847, he reported that there were one boys' school and three girls' schools in the diocese, besides the academy, but these were probably one-man schools, which moved with their teachers.⁷⁷ During the succeeding year, he was able to secure the establishment of a more permanent school for girls in Philadelphia, the Episcopal Female Institute.⁷⁸ In 1854, he expressed the wish that

⁷⁴*Diocese of Pennsylvania, Journal, 1854, pp. 42-46, 62.*

⁷⁵*Diocese of Pennsylvania, Journal of Convention, 1864 (Philadelphia, 1864), pp. 63, 71.*

⁷⁶*Diocese of Pennsylvania, Journal 1854, p. 27.*

⁷⁷*Diocese of Pennsylvania, Journal, 1847, p. 43.*

⁷⁸*Diocese of Pennsylvania, Journal, 1848, p. 37; Journal, 1849, p. 33.*

more schools might be started, and suggested the desirability of having one in every convocation area.⁷⁹

One reason for his desire to increase the number of Church schools was to provide a means of educating the children of his clergy. Scholarships for the sons of ministers were already provided at the Episcopal Academy, but no provision had been made for their daughters before his time. Besides establishing the Female Institute, he secured the foundation of an organization known as the Clergy Daughters' Fund, to finance the education of the female offspring of Episcopalian ministers in Pennsylvania.⁸⁰

He continued to be an advocate of public schools in Pennsylvania, as he had been in New York. In 1847 he said, in his convention address, "Pennsylvania is now engaged in a noble effort to supply every child within her limits with the means of elementary instruction, and the success of that effort must be a cherished object with all who would see our civil institutions properly administered, or the claims of Christianity in general, and of our own Church in particular, properly appreciated."⁸¹

His greatest educational achievement was the founding of the Philadelphia Divinity School. That institution was established during the Civil War, and an impetus was undoubtedly given to its organization by the fact that the conflict prevented the sending of candidates from the north to Virginia Seminary, but it represented the realization of a project long entertained by the bishop.

As early as 1854, he had suggested to his convention the desirability of having a "Training College" in the diocese to prepare young men "for such spheres of usefulness as, on trial, they should be found best fitted for—be it that of Presbyters,—of Deacons, properly so called,—of Catechists and Bible Readers,—or even of School-masters."⁸² In 1856, he broached the subject again,⁸³ and in 1857, he induced the Reverend George Emlen Hare, the head of the Episcopal Academy, to undertake the instruction of candidates for the ministry.⁸⁴ In 1860, he reported that Dr. Hare held "the appointment of Teacher of Divinity from the Protestant Episcopal Academy."⁸⁵ In the same year, the convention resolved that it concurred with the bishop as to the de-

⁷⁹*Diocese of Pennsylvania, Journal, 1854, p. 31.*

⁸⁰*Diocese of Pennsylvania, Journal, 1850, pp. 34-36.*

⁸¹*Diocese of Pennsylvania, Journal, 1847, p. 44.*

⁸²*Diocese of Pennsylvania, Journal, 1854, p. 31.*

⁸³*Diocese of Pennsylvania, Journal of Convention, 1856 (Philadelphia, 1856), p. 36.*

⁸⁴*Diocese of Pennsylvania, Journal, 1858, p. 31.*

⁸⁵*Diocese of Pennsylvania, Journal, 1860, p. 35.*

sirability of starting a diocesan training school, and invited him to submit a plan.⁸⁶

In 1862 he reported that Dr. Hare and a number of clergymen had been instructing a large portion of the diocese's thirty-two candidates during the preceding year, and that a charter had been secured for the Divinity School of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Philadelphia.⁸⁷ Later in the same year the committee on the state of the Church informed General Convention that the new seminary was prepared to begin regular courses that fall, with five professors, twenty students, and a library of a thousand or more volumes, and that students from other dioceses were invited to attend.⁸⁸

Bishop Potter was also interested in seeing his clergy continue their education after their seminary course was completed. In the years 1849-52, he delivered a series of four charges. The first of these dealt with some general aspects of the minister's position, but the remaining three were concerned with his studies. The chief emphasis was laid upon the study of the Bible, but the pursuit of a regular course of reading on other subjects was also advocated.⁸⁹

One of the topics discussed in the first charge was the relation of the minister to the community, in connection with which Potter wrote, "That day, in which the clergy cease to be amongst the foremost in efforts to ameliorate the condition of mankind, will be a day dark indeed for the prospect of the world—nor of the world alone. The Church itself must suffer in the same proportion, since she can truly prosper, under the smiles of her Great Head, only when she fulfills her mission as His Minister for good to men."⁹⁰ Carrying out the spirit of this declaration, he planned a wide system of Church charities for the diocese, designed to include orphanages, widows' homes, female reformatories, a "House of Employment" for the destitute, a hospital, and other institutions of a similar character.⁹¹

The most successful project in this scheme was the Hospital of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Philadelphia, which was organized in 1851 and opened in 1852, having received subscriptions amounting to \$50,000 and a gift of land containing a number of buildings capable of being adapted to its use.⁹² In 1860, it was enlarged by the addition of some new buildings, which were completed just in time to care for

⁸⁶*Ibid.*, p. 59.

⁸⁷*Diocese of Pennsylvania, Journal*, 1862, p. 40.

⁸⁸*General Convention, Journal*, 1862, p. 211.

⁸⁹*Potter, Discourses*, pp. 113-133.

⁹⁰*Ibid.*, pp. 25-26.

⁹¹*Diocese of Pennsylvania, Journal*, 1860, p. 38.

⁹²*Diocese of Pennsylvania, Journal*, 1851, p. 36; *Journal*, 1852, p. 45.

the wounded soldiers brought to Philadelphia from the battlefields of the Civil War.⁹³

The rest of the program was only partially carried out. Philadelphia had long had an Episcopal home for aged women in Christ Church Hospital, founded as the result of a bequest left in 1772, by Dr. John Kearsley, the architect of Christ Church and Independence Hall. In 1856 it was enlarged by the erection of a new building.⁹⁴ A home for children was established under diocesan auspices, and a school for orphan girls (the Burd School) was founded under the supervision of St. Stephen's Church, Philadelphia, as the result of a legacy from a wealthy parishioner.⁹⁵

Potter's health, never robust, was seriously impaired by his episcopal labors, and during the last ten years of his life its condition was never very good. In 1855, he told his convention that the time might soon come when he would have to ask for an assistant, but that he hoped to be able to carry on for the present if he discontinued his participation in a number of general civic movements with which he had cooperated since becoming bishop, because he had "felt that labor of that kind was eminently becoming in a Christian Bishop, and . . . hoped that it might, if properly discharged, not only benefit its more immediate objects, but also exert a benign influence upon our Communion."⁹⁶ During the ensuing year he was obliged to leave the diocese for three months in an effort to recover his health, and the convention of 1856, while concluding that the time was not yet ripe for the election of an assistant, urged the bishop to spare himself as much as possible in his labors.⁹⁷

Early in 1858, he suffered a stroke of paralysis, for which his physicians prescribed a trip to Europe, then considered a sovereign remedy for any disease which could be, even remotely, traced to overwork. He was, therefore, obliged to request his convention to choose an assistant bishop. Another long contest ensued, which ended on the sixteenth ballot, when the clergy, by a small majority, nominated the Reverend Samuel Bowman, who had led the field for so long in 1845. This time, the laity gave him their approval, though not by a very large margin. His principal opponent was the Reverend Alexander H.

⁹³*Diocese of Pennsylvania, Journal, 1860, p. 38; Journal, 1863, p. 39.*

⁹⁴*Christ Church Hospital. Proceedings on the Occasion of Laying the Corner-Stone of the New Hospital in Belmont, Philadelphia (Philadelphia, 1856).*

⁹⁵*Diocese of Pennsylvania, Journal, 1860, p. 38.*

⁹⁶*Diocese of Pennsylvania, Journal of Convention, 1855 (Philadelphia, 1855), pp. 31-32.*

⁹⁷*Diocese of Pennsylvania, Journal, 1856, pp. 24-25, 40-41.*

Vinton, though the name of the Reverend William Bacon Stevens had been substituted for Vinton's on a few ballots.⁹⁸

The scheme worked out by the convention for paying the assistant's salary represented a new step in the evolution of episcopal support. Bishop White, like the other early bishops, had received no salary as diocesan, being supported by his stipend as rector of Christ Church, and his own personal fortune. Bishop Onderdonk was paid by the diocese, but though a small episcopal fund had been raised, the income from it was insufficient for the purpose, and had to be supplemented by voluntary contributions. When Potter was elected, the convention voted to fix his salary at \$3,500, and, in order that the amount might be assured, eleven parishes in or near Philadelphia pledged themselves to supply whatever was necessary to make it up. When his salary was raised to \$4,000 in 1853, this arrangement was continued.

In 1858, the convention resolved to pay the assistant \$3,500, and to keep Potter's salary at \$4,000, though he had expressed his willingness to have it reduced. To raise the necessary funds, a committee, composed of the president of the standing committee, the secretary of the convention, and the treasurer of the episcopal fund, was authorized to assess the parishes either 37½ cents for each communicant, or 6 per cent of the rector's salary, as they thought best. The treasurer was, within a month of the rising of the convention, to send a copy of the authorizing resolution to every parish, together with a statement of the amount that the parish was to pay. He was to acknowledge the receipts, as they came in, in the Church papers of Philadelphia, and to publish, in the same papers, a list of delinquent parishes after the beginning of each year.⁹⁹

Bowman was not destined long to fill the post to which he had been elected. Though apparently in excellent health, he died suddenly, in 1861, while on the way to visit parishes in the oil country, a region in whose evangelization he had taken special interest. Potter had by that time returned to the diocese and resumed its supervision, but his health was by no means fully restored, and it was felt necessary that a new assistant should be elected at once. A special convention was, therefore, called, and the Reverend William Bacon Stevens was chosen on the thirteenth ballot, the laity registering their approval by a vote of eighty-four to thirty-seven.¹⁰⁰

As the size and prosperity of the diocese increased, it was inevitable that the question of its division should begin to be raised. New York

⁹⁸*Diocese of Pennsylvania, Journal, 1858, pp. 23, 73; Howe, op. cit., p. 319.*

⁹⁹*Diocese of Pennsylvania, Journal, 1858, pp. 45-53.*

¹⁰⁰*Diocese of Pennsylvania, Journal of Special Convention, 1861 (Philadelphia, 1862), pp. 21-39; Journal, 1862, p. 34.*

had set a precedent for such division as early as 1838, and, as Pennsylvania was the second largest diocese, it was natural that she should be the next to split up. There was, at that time, a "small-diocese movement" in the Church, which advocated the breaking up of large jurisdictions as a matter of principle, but for most people the issue turned on the more practical question of how large an area could be efficiently administered by a single bishop.

Potter presented the question of division to his convention as early as 1855, when the summary of his first ten years' administration offered a convenient opportunity for considering future policies.¹⁰¹ Thereafter, the issue was raised at nearly every session, but for a time the only result was repeated postponement. In 1859, it seemed likely that the measure would soon be agreed upon, and Potter endeavored to get the approval of General Convention in advance, but ill health prevented his attending the meeting of the committee on canons at which the proposal was discussed, and an unfavorable report resulted. He decided not to force the issue upon the floor of the House of Bishops, and so the division had to be put off for another three years.¹⁰² The Civil War caused it to be delayed even longer, and it was not finally determined upon until the convention of 1865, when the bishop was already embarked upon his last voyage.¹⁰³ It received the sanction of General Convention a short time after his death.¹⁰⁴

A bishop's primary responsibility is always to his diocese, but though his leadership begins it does not end there. As a member of the House of Bishops he is officially charged with an important share in the direction of the affairs of the whole Church, and his position often furnishes him with numerous opportunities for influencing its policies unofficially.

Of this wider leadership, Potter bore as large a share as could be expected from one whose character was so slightly self-assertive and so little disposed to controversy. During most of the years that he was a member of the House of Bishops, he served on the important committee on canons, and in this capacity he was at least partly responsible for a number of measures which extended and clarified the law of the Church. Among the canons which he sponsored was one regulating clerical residence and removal;¹⁰⁵ one providing for the trial of ministers for offenses committed outside of the diocese in which they were canonically

¹⁰¹*Diocese of Pennsylvania, Journal, 1855*, pp. 31, 36, 60, 63.

¹⁰²*General Convention, Journal, 1859 (Richmond, 1860)*, pp. 161-62, 173; *Diocese of Pennsylvania, Journal, 1859*, pp. 39-40.

¹⁰³*Diocese of Pennsylvania, Journal, 1865*, pp. 88-90.

¹⁰⁴*General Convention, Journal, 1865 (Boston, 1865)*, pp. 171, 175, 177.

¹⁰⁵*General Convention, Journal, 1847 (New York, 1847)*, pp. 159-60; *Journal, 1850 (Philadelphia, 1851)*, pp. 106, 109, 115-16.

cally resident;¹⁰⁶ one governing the election and jurisdiction of foreign missionary bishops;¹⁰⁷ and one concerning the division of dioceses, which had its first application in the splitting up of the Diocese of Pennsylvania.¹⁰⁸

Having been, all his life, a persistent advocate of the more systematic use of the services of the laity, he was, in 1850, named, with Bishops Brownell, Doane, Henshaw and Chase on a committee to report, at the next General Convention, "whether some plan cannot be proposed, by which, consistently with the principles of our Reformed Communion, the services of intelligent and pious persons of both sexes, may be secured to the Church, to a greater extent, in the education of the young, the relief of the sick and destitute, the care of orphans and friendless immigrants, and the reformation of the vicious."¹⁰⁹ The problem proved to be too large a one for solution at that time, however, and the committee was obliged to report, in 1853, that it had been unable to devise any plan.¹¹⁰

As a mean of utilizing the work of women in the Church more effectively, he favored the formation of what he called "Protestant Sisterhoods", a proposal which was advocated by a number of Church leaders in his day, partly because of the interest in such matters stirred up by the Oxford Movement, partly because the migration of so many young men to the West left the eastern part of the United States with an abnormal number of unmarried women, to whom the existing social order furnished few opportunities for useful employment. Most of the advocates of these "sisterhoods" were, like Potter, Low Churchmen, and what they contemplated was not a monastic society of the traditional sort, but something more nearly resembling the present Order of Deaconesses.¹¹¹

He was keenly alive to the spiritual possibilities of music, even maintaining that "the musical scale adjusts itself naturally to the expression of all innocent and pure emotions, of all grand and pathetic ideas; while some violence must be done to it before it can become the organ of licentiousness or the vehicle of base or frivolous amusement."¹¹² It was to be expected, therefore, that he should favor the enlargement of the meager collection of hymns grudgingly authorized by the General Convention of 1829.

¹⁰⁶*General Convention, Journal, 1850, pp. 125, 149.*

¹⁰⁷*Ibid., pp. 129-31, 147-48.*

¹⁰⁸*General Convention, Journal, 1853 (Philadelphia, 1853), pp. 207-8.*

¹⁰⁹*General Convention, Journal, 1850, p. 132.*

¹¹⁰*General Convention, Journal, 1853, p. 188.*

¹¹¹*Howe, op. cit., pp. 258-60: Diocese of Pennsylvania, Journal, 1862, pp. 45-46.*

¹¹²*Diocese of Pennsylvania, Journal, 1863, p. 42.*

As the Church for many years refused to sanction officially any enlargement of this selection, he secured the formation of a voluntary committee which published a volume called *Hymns for Church and Home*, in 1859, and thereby helped to induce the General Convention of that year to appoint a commission on the enlargement of the hymnal, of which he was a member. This committee, whose chairman was Bishop George Burgess of Maine, did not bring in its final report until after Potter's death, but there is no reason to doubt that while he lived and retained some measure of health, he took an active part in its deliberations.¹¹³

Probably his most important service in the House of Bishops was performed in connection with the so-called "Muhlenberg Memorial" of 1853. That document was a petition, drafted by the Reverend William Augustus Muhlenberg, rector of the Church of the Holy Communion, New York City, and signed by a large number of presbyters, mostly Evangelicals, which proposed to the startled bishops the creation of a super-Church, surrounding and including the Protestant Episcopal Church, identical with it in principal, but not subject to its full discipline.¹¹⁴ This was to be brought about, as Muhlenberg later explained, by the bishops' acting in their inherent episcopal capacity, and independently of any conventional authority, ordaining ministers of other denominations, who would then become subject to their supervision, but not to that of General Convention, or of any diocesan convention.¹¹⁵

The House of Bishops appointed a committee to consider this memorial and report on it at the next convention.¹¹⁶ The chairman of the committee was Bishop James Harvey Otey of Tennessee, but Potter was its most active member. Sensing the real object of the petitioners, among whom were a number of his own clergy, he broadened the scope of the committee's inquiry beyond the simple question of the expediency of the measure proposed to a consideration of the whole problem of the adequacy of the Church's equipment to meet the problems that confronted it.

As a result, the committee, in 1856, proposed a series of resolutions which were, on his motion, adopted. They declared that the services of Morning Prayer, Litany, and Holy Communion, which were then regarded as bound together in some sort of mystical union, might be

¹¹³Alexander Burgess, *Memoir of the Rt. Rev. George Burgess, D. D.*, (Philadelphia, 1869), pp. 142-45; *General Convention, Journal*, 1859, p. 192.

¹¹⁴*Memorial of Sundry Presbyters of the Protestant Episcopal Church (1853)*, pp. 2-3.

¹¹⁵W. A. Muhlenberg, *An Exposition of the Memorial of Sundry Presbyters (New York, 1854)*, pp. 27-55.

¹¹⁶*General Convention, Journal*, 1853, pp. 216-231-32.

separated, "under the advice of the Bishop of the Diocese;" that ministers might use appropriate portions of the Prayer Book and Holy Scripture upon occasions for which no formal service was provided; that the bishop of any diocese might authorize services for special classes of people, on condition that they did not replace the regular offices of the Prayer Book; and that, to show its zeal for Christian reunion, the House of Bishops should elect a committee to confer with such other denominations as might desire it, it being distinctly understood that the committee was "clothed with no authority to mature plans of union with other Christian Bodies, or to propound expositions of doctrine and discipline."¹¹⁷

This may seem like a slim result to follow from such a tremendous proposal, but it was great enough to alarm the conservative leaders of the Church. Bishop William Heathcote De Lancey, of Western New York, entered a formal protest against the resolutions in 1856,¹¹⁸ and in 1859 the House of Deputies begged the bishops to reconsider them on the ground that they had "disturbed the minds of many in our Church." The bishops avoided acting on this request by pleading that the matter came upon their calendar (by careful arrangement, probably) too late in the session to receive proper consideration.¹¹⁹

More significant than the meager official result was the widespread discussion of the Church's efficiency which the proposal brought about. To this discussion Potter made an important contribution when, on behalf of the committee, he circularized all of the more prominent leaders of the Church, and a number of members of other denominations, asking for their views of the plan, and the various questions which it raised. Their replies he published in a volume which remains, even today, a valuable critique of the Church's program, and which contained many suggestions that were carried out a generation or more after its publication.¹²⁰

One phase of his work in General Convention deserves to be mentioned, not because of its significance to the Church at large, but because it sheds a pleasant light upon his character. This is the effort he made to secure the removal of the sentence of suspension laid upon his predecessor, who had shown, by his conduct since 1844, a sincere repentance for any sin of which he may have been guilty. In 1856, the effort was successful, and so a troubled life was allowed to end in peace.¹²¹

¹¹⁷*General Convention, Journal, 1856 (Philadelphia, 1857), p. 204.*

¹¹⁸*Ibid., p. 206.*

¹¹⁹*General Convention, Journal, 1859, pp. 143, 197.*

¹²⁰*Alonso Potter, Memorial Papers (Philadelphia, 1857).*

¹²¹*General Convention, Journal, 1856, pp. 209-10; Diocese of Pennsylvania, Journal, 1859, pp. 31-32.*

Like most northern Evangelicals, Potter was opposed to slavery, but hesitated to denounce it publicly for fear of antagonizing his southern ecclesiastical allies, and, probably, many of his own flock as well. It is true that, speaking in favor of a Negro mission, he once said, "It operates among the most wretched and neglected of a race to whom we have done a great wrong and to whom we owe a vast debt not only of charity but of remunerative justice."¹²² but this was no stronger language than was frequently used by liberal southerners, and it was less strong than that which was employed upon a similar occasion by Bishop William Meade, of Virginia, a southerner born and bred.¹²³

Potter did, however, champion the by-no-means popular cause of Negro education in the North,¹²⁴ and he consistently voted, in the diocesan convention, for the admission of delegates from Negro churches, a measure which the laity kept from passing until 1862, though the clergy had voted for it as early as 1852.¹²⁵

During the Civil War, he took a strong stand in favor of the Union, and against slavery. When, in 1863, some Democratic politicians in Pennsylvania reprinted a previously published pamphlet in defense of slavery, on Biblical grounds, by Bishop John Henry Hopkins of Vermont, Potter published a protest, signed by himself and a majority of his clergy, which stigmatized the pamphlet as a production "unworthy of any servant of Jesus Christ," and "an effort to sustain on Bible principles, the States in rebellion against the government." In 1864, when another political campaign was under way, Bishop Hopkins republished the tract together with the protest and a reply thereto, (in which he accused Potter of having changed his views since the war began) and a further defense of slavery, this time on the basis of church history.¹²⁶

In the last year of the war, Potter issued a collection of prayers authorized for use in the diocese on the various special occasions that might arise in the course of the conflict, together with some supplications for unity, for the increase of the ministry, for missions and missionaries, for the young, and for an increase of charitable zeal—subjects for which the Prayer Book then made no provision.¹²⁷

¹²²*Diocese of Pennsylvania, Journal, 1847, p. 24.*

¹²³*William Meade, Pastoral Letter to the Ministers, Members, and Friends of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Virginia (Richmond, 1853), p. 6; William Jay, Caste and Slavery in the American Church, New York, 1843, p. 40.*

¹²⁴*Potter, Christian Philanthropy.*

¹²⁵*Diocese of Pennsylvania, Journal, 1852, pp. 76-79; Journal, 1863, pp. 71-76.*

¹²⁶*J. H. Hopkins, A Scriptural, Ecclesiastical, and Historical View of Slavery, from the Days of the Patriarch Abraham, to the Nineteenth Century, Addressed to the Right Rev. Alonzo Potter, D. D. (New York, 1864).*

¹²⁷*Alonzo Potter, Prayers and Thanksgivings Which May Be Used in This Diocese (1864).*

On the question of "temperance," Potter was more outspoken than he ventured to be, before the Civil War, upon the slavery issue. He became a total abstainer himself in early manhood, and frequently spoke publicly on behalf of the cause of teetotalism. One of his addresses, delivered in 1852, was reprinted and widely circulated as a tract by the Massachusetts Temperance Society. It is more moderate in tone than many such productions, but repeats the traditional argument that the moderate drinker is responsible for the excesses of the drunkard.¹²³

When, in 1859, Potter returned to this country after having spent more than a year endeavoring to regain his health abroad, the friends who met him were surprised and disappointed on beholding the "faded look and shrunken form" which indicated that his recovery was far from complete.¹²⁹ For a time his health seemed to improve, but before long it was again on the decline, and, early in 1865, it had become so precarious that his physicians once more advised their favorite panacea, an ocean voyage. The Pacific Mail Steamship Company invited him to be its guest upon the new steamer, the *Colorado*, which was making its maiden voyage to the western coast. Among his fellow passengers was the famous American-Swiss scientist, Professor Louis Agassiz of Harvard, whose lectures on shipboard Potter took pleasure in attending.

When the *Colorado* sailed, the Civil War was slowly drawing to a close, and, as there was then no wireless, it was not until the ship made its first port, in Peru, that the passengers learned, all at once, of Lee's surrender and the death of Lincoln. A memorial service for the murdered president was held on board, at which Potter delivered the eulogy.

The bishop's health seemed to improve as the ship traveled up the coast, and when it stopped on the Isthmus of Panama he crossed over to the Atlantic side, to consecrate the first Episcopal Church on the Isthmus, at Aspinwall. Possibly the effort was too much for him, for, as the vessel neared its destination, he began to grow worse again.

He died in his cabin while the ship was lying in San Francisco harbor, thus ending his days 2,500 miles from home, in a region which had been the territory of a foreign country when he became a bishop, twenty years before, but which was now both a state of the Union and a diocese of the Episcopal Church. He himself, indeed, had sponsored, in the House of Bishops, the resolution by which it was admitted to General Convention.¹³⁰ The clergy of San Francisco bore his remains

¹²³Alonzo Potter, *The Drinking Usages of Society* (Boston, 1858); *Discourses*, pp. 273-97; Howe, *op. cit.*, pp. 74-78.

¹²⁹Stevens, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

¹³⁰General Convention, *Journal*, 1856, p. 160.

to the shore, watched over them while the *Colorado* lay in port, and sent a deputation to escort them back East when the vessel started its return voyage.¹³¹

Though Potter's views on most ecclesiastical subjects were strong and decided, they had always that positive and constructive quality which distinguishes true earnestness from bigotry. As an Evangelical, he was naturally opposed to the Oxford Movement, which he regarded as endangering the reformed character of the Church, but he did not go out of his way to attack it. As a rule, he spoke of it only when it affected matters falling within his proper jurisdiction, as on two occasions when he was called upon to depose clergymen who, after falling under its influence, had been converted to the Roman Catholic faith.¹³²

He had little or no contact with what was called the liberal movement, but there was in his whole outlook that quality of largeness which is the essence of all liberalism. He was always too eager to use any new agency that might increase the effectiveness of his work for the Church to insist that it should conform to the tenets of any doctrinaire theology, and he honestly endeavored, though, it may be, with no great success, to understand and cope with the intellectual and social problems of his day. It seems entirely appropriate, therefore, that one of the greatest of the liberal leaders of the next generation, Bishop Henry Codman Potter, of New York, should have been his son in the flesh as well as in the spirit.

His best epitaph is to be found in the words spoken by Bishop Stevens to the diocesan convention of 1865, shortly after Potter had started on his fatal journey. "His twenty years' Episcopate," said Stevens, "may challenge comparison with any other in the Atlantic States, and should he never labor among us again, would constitute a memorial of his intellectual, moral and administrative powers which would at once, and by common consent, place him in the front rank of the Bishops of the American Church."¹³³

¹³¹*Howe, op. cit., pp. 352-85; Stevens, op. cit., pp. 36-45.*

¹³²*Diocese of Pennsylvania, Journal, 1847, p. 46; Journal, 1854, pp. 22-23.*

¹³³*Diocese of Pennsylvania, Journal, 1865, p. 57.*

THE S. P. G. MISSIONARIES IN NEW JERSEY DURING THE WAR OF THE REVOLUTION

*By Sir Edward Midwinter**

IT is with no ordinary sense of thrill that I find myself here in the land hitherto unknown in fact but known intimately in imagination to those of us who, in London, have for many months been working among the American archives of the S. P. G. There in a cellar 19 ft. by 12 ft. in the centre of Westminster are to be found some 25 bulky volumes of letters roughly bound in red covers, together with various boxes and bundles of loose papers, in all I suppose some 6,000 or 7,000 documents received by S. P. G. from its missionaries and other correspondents in the American colonies before 1783 came to interrupt that happy co-operation. I want to turn over those pages with you to-night, taking care to handle them in thought with the reverent touch due to frail and faded old manuscripts. May I here give you just one old obscure reference which will especially appeal to us to-night. The Rev. Wm. Thomson wrote from Trenton on January 15th 1772 that he had visited Princeton where he says "there is a large Presbyterian College in which there is at present near 100 boys, where I found a few well-disposed members of the C. of E. very desirous to have Divine Service performed amongst them. I have offered them my services on week days. They have set forward a subs. for building a small Ch: & I have some reason to believe they will accomplish it having already subs: upwards of £130: I will give it every encouragement in my power." (Mr. Thomson left Trenton and went to Maryland where he died in 1785.)

Your Society will I know be deeply interested not only in the minor events of day-to-day life in the 18th century, but even more in the underlying problems which resulted in the War of Independence. I should like tonight to touch on certain of these, which many of our missionaries fully appreciated, and to quote their letters by way of illustration to the text.

The S. P. G. was founded in 1701 by the Rev. Thomas Bray. Up till that time there had been very few Anglican clergy or churches in America. As might be expected the Quakers predominated in cer-

*Delivered at Princeton, New Jersey.

tain provinces, especially in Pennsylvania where in Philadelphia—Penn's City of brotherly love—there was only one Anglican clergyman, Dr. Evan Evans of Christ Church who had succeeded Mr. Clayton in 1700: like all missionaries in those days he thought nothing of visiting settlements 40 or 50 miles away and covered a vast area. Even in New York William Vesey, who had just become Rector of Trinity Church, was single-handed. The Society at once sent two missionaries—Keith, himself of Quaker origin, and Talbot, who appears to have had Jacobite leanings; and these two made an extensive tour lasting several months—inaugurating the system of missionaries which the Society maintained for the next 75 years. Two distinguished Governors, Colonel Dudley of New England and Colonel Morris of New Jersey, furnished the Society with reports on the existing estate of affairs which from any religious stand-point was clearly deplorable. East and West Jersey are described as distracted with varieties of dissent—a hotch potch of religion. Dudley submitted a long list of suggestions and Keith, who had been the tutor of Colonel Morris, especially recommended establishing churches at Amboy and Shrewsbury near Morris's home, there being at the time no Anglican Church in either W. or E. Jersey:—"the more the pity", he added, "for people live very mean like Indians".

Talbot had a great personal friendship and admiration for Keith, though they must have differed widely in many ways. Their meeting seems to have been accidental and due to the fact that Talbot was naval chaplain on Keith's ship.

Writing in 1702 to a friend, Talbot describes their joint efforts. He is evidently much amused by the Indian Chief's expressions of good will to Lord Cornbury at Albany for the "squaw sachem"—namely Queen Anne. Keith, he observes, "knows the depths of Satan within them (I fear he meant the Quakers) and all the dwellings & windings of the snake in the grass. In short he has become the best champion the Church ever had".

He refers to a convention of clergy convened by Governor Colonel Nicholson. "We were," he says, "but seven in all; and a week together we sat considering of ways & means to propagate the Gospel. We had great need of a Bishop here to visit all the Churches, to advise some, to confirm others and to bless all." Talbot here puts his finger with unerring instinct upon one of the most important factors in the subsequent history of both Church and State in the American colonies. He was one of the first to do so but by no means the last, for the problem remained a subject of bitter contention till Seabury's consecration.

In those early days it could probably have been effected comparatively easily. Countless letters and petitions were sent to England and

in 1711 it seems that but for the accidental absence of the Bishop of London from a special committee at which the Archbishop proposed to consider the matter, it might well have come about.

The death of Queen Anne in 1714, however, changed the situation. Actually the Society submitted a comprehensive scheme to George I for establishing four bishoprics, two for the West Indian Islands and two for the mainland. There is no doubt that this scheme was admirably conceived and prepared in every particular, as a perusal of the detailed system for its financial stability will show. Unfortunately, however, the ominous shadows which obscured the political horizon presented an unsurmountable obstacle. The fact that the plan had been sponsored by a minister opposed to the Hanoverian succession, coupled with the government's not unnatural distrust of the high Tory clergy who were under grave suspicion in connection with the ill-starred Jacobite rising in Scotland, was more than enough to alienate the sympathy of the authorities. Thus once again the Church was forced to suffer by reason of political disturbances in which her true self had neither wish nor predilection to participate. Nevertheless it is hard to apportion blame, if blame is due, to those who were responsible for frustrating her desires. In these days of easily-made voyages across the Atlantic and the revolutionary changes which the introduction of wireless telegraphy and broadcasting have made whereby "the nations live in each other's pockets", it is perhaps difficult for us to visualize the abysmal ignorance of each other's circumstances from which our forefathers suffered. It is not surprising therefore that Archbishop Secker, when preaching before the S. P. G. as Bishop of Oxford in 1741, could say of the American colonies:—

"No teacher is known; no religious assembly held; the sacrament of baptism is not administered for twenty years together among many thousand people—such is the state of things in more of our colonies than one, and where it is a little better it is lamentably bad". We may indeed suppose that his Grace modified his views when in due time he became president of the Society, for if, (as we may unhesitatingly assume from his great activities for the establishment of an American Episcopacy), he studied the letters of the S. P. G. missionaries, his knowledge of the conditions of the colonial Church must have broadened considerably.

With the exception of the Bishop of London, whose peculiar position as a self-styled "Diocesan" made it incumbent upon him to learn something of his overseas flock, (which he endeavoured to do by employing a Commissary for that purpose), it may be concluded that the members of the S. P. G. were the only persons who could be in any wise conversant with the ecclesiastical conditions then prevailing in

America, and it may be suspected a good many other important matters likewise.

A third and last attempt to obtain an American Episcopacy was made in 1750 when Sherlock, Bishop of London, presented a memorial to George II. Drawn up with discriminating skill, every care was taken to avoid offending the non-conformist or other elements which might be opposed to the scheme. The Quaker province of Pennsylvania and New England were expressly exempted from its scope, and in those other areas where it was intended to introduce the episcopate the scheme definitely provided that the bishops were to have no temporal power of any kind and, moreover, were to have no support from any tax or imposition levied on the colonies. But as in the case of the other memorials, political forces proved an impassable stumbling-block. In spite of the safe-guards contained in the plan, the Whig leaders contented themselves with insisting that the colonies would see in the scheme the possibility of encroachment on their liberties as also on their pockets—a most interesting suggestion when viewed in the light of after events which had their fulfilment in the hated Stamp Act and the "Boston Tea Party".

It is abundantly clear that the English government of that time was either incapable or unwilling to view colonial matters in their proper perspective, for had they paid heed to the repeated warnings of the S. P. G. by establishing episcopal control in America, the subsequent course of history might well have been changed. A letter from the Rev. Dr. T. B. Chandler, written from New Jersey in 1766—nine years before the outbreak of the war—contains an emphatic warning of the dangers to which the Home Government's policy was drifting:—

"The duty of a Missionary in this country is now become more difficult than ever. . . . Such a universal spirit of clamour & discontent—little short of madness—such an opinion of oppression prevails through the colonies as I believe was scarcely ever seen on any occasion in any country on Earth. And it seems to be the determined inflexible resolution from Halifax to Georgia never to submit to what they esteem so great an infringement of their essential rights as some of the late acts of the British Parliament. . . . Probably the Parliament are able to enforce the Stamp Act, yet should they resolve to do it, a Disaffection of the Colonies . . . will undoubtedly be established. The Government must be put to a great Expence, and the Commerce of the Colonies, so beneficial to England heretofore, will sink, comparatively, to a mere Trifle. For none will dare to import anything but the bare Necessaries of Life. . . . England has always been benefited nearly in Proportion to the wealth & Commerce of her Colonies. Whether there-

fore any Measures that directly tend to lessen that Wealth & Commerce, can finally be of service to Great Britain, is a question which may not be unworthy the Attention even of those who are the Guardians of her Interests. The Parliament has undoubtedly been misinformed; for that the Colonies in general abound in wealth, & are able to pay any considerable Tax to ye Government will upon proper enquiry be found to be as true . . . as that an American Episcopate would be utterly disagreeable to more than Nineteen-Twentieths of all the People in America. . . . Had the Church of England been a national concern from the beginning there would have been submission in everything not sinful. . . . The (English) Nation is under great obligations to that very worthy Society, who by their indefatigable Endeavours to propagate the Gospel & assist the Church, have, as far as their Influence could be extended, ye Loyalty & Fidelity of her American Children. . . . ”

This letter alone stamps its author as a man of profound insight.

In the following year Dr. Chandler published his “Appeal to the Public in behalf of the Church of England in America” which reiterated the Church’s claim for episcopal jurisdiction in the American colonies. The “Appeal” provoked a storm of opposition headed by violent attacks in the New York “American Whig” and the Philadelphia “Sentinel”. sponsored by Dr. Allison, Vice-Provost of Philadelphia College. This was followed by Chandler’s “Appeal Defended” which produced further fulminations from his antagonists. In spite of this “wordy warfare” the worthy Doctor continued to discharge his parochial duties with undiminished zeal, and not long afterwards he reported:—

“My congregation is as regular and respectable as it ever was, consisting of 100 families in which there are between seventy and eighty communicants: and the Dissenters of late have become, in appearance, more friendly than ever. Some years ago few of them were to be seen in Church upon any occasion; but now they sometimes crowd thither in such numbers as to be more numerous than our own people that are present. This is an indication that their prejudices against the Church abate in this place, as I believe they do throughout the Country in general, notwithstanding all the Arts that are used to keep them up & increase them.”

In the neighbouring state of Pennsylvania, Church affairs were still progressing favourably. Writing about this time from Chester, the Rev. George Craig mentions that the three churches under his care were being renovated and that the Governor and Assembly of the province had consented to pass an act for a lottery to raise funds for the work.

Further that the congregation at Chester had supplied a long-felt want by purchasing a parsonage house and garden and that the people at Chichester had "Enlarged their Church Ten feet in width. Both these Churches are of Brick & have each a Bell, which they purchased, particularly Chichester, which is fix'd in a Cupola on ye west End. . . . These Churches, I bless God, do not loose ground, tho' they consist in general, of ye poorer people of which Numbers of all Denominations attend our Divine Service. . . ."

In fact, in almost every state at this time the Church was making definite headway, and less than two years later Colonial William Jessup wrote to the Society offering it two large tracts of land on the Hudson River in New York Province to be utilized as the headquarters of the Society's activities and also of an American episcopate. Colonel Jessup's letter was accompanied by a beautifully drawn large scale map of the locality showing the areas he proposed to make over for these purposes. As an illustration of the wealth and varied interest of the S. P. G. archives I may mention that this extremely interesting drawing was only quite recently unearthed from a package of old documents and papers, where it had in all probability lain unheeded for the past 160 years. It now adorns a prominent position in the Society's beautifully decorated Archives Room which has lately been called into being by the munificence of the Pilgrim Trust.

The events of the next three years culminated in the outbreak of hostilities at Lexington in 1775, but even then had the home government been prepared to compromise, the terrible tragedy which followed might well have been avoided. Unhappily, the Government's rejection of the petition from the newly constituted Congress, (which occurred a few months after Lexington), precluded all hopes of a peaceful settlement between England and the American colonies. The choice of Richard Penn, a grandson of the founder of Pennsylvania and himself a Proprietary of that state, as the bearer of the petition to England, was in itself an obvious indication of the sincerity of its signatories. To their bitter disappointment their messenger was not even accorded a reception by a Crown minister until he had spent a whole week in London, and nearly another month elapsed before the petition was submitted to the King. The reason was not, however, far to seek; more than a fortnight earlier a royal proclamation had been issued which invited all subjects of the realm to lay information against all persons aiding or abetting those who were now in rebellion against the government in the American colonies. In other words the King and his advisors had predetermined their course of action, and thenceforward all attempts at a reconciliation were doomed to failure.

It would be wholly unnecessary for me to attempt to sketch the

course of the war, (even if such could be accomplished in the course of a single lecture), as the subject must be as familiar to you as to myself. I propose, therefore, to confine myself to some aspects of the conflict in relation to the position of the Church and the Society's missionaries. The Society's papers afford sidelights on the war period which throw into relief the actual experiences of the missionaries and their congregations. Broadly speaking the majority of the Episcopal clergy adhered to the Tory party, being bound, as they considered, by their ordination oaths to maintain their allegiance to the Crown. The fact that many of them, such as Samuel Seabury, Thomas Chandler and Jonathan Odell were American born and bred appears to have had no influence upon their convictions when the time came to make a choice in the great upheaval. This may well have been a contributory cause to the great hostility exhibited against them. That the resolve of the clergy was by no means easily decided is shown by numerous letters to the Society, and more particularly by that of the clergy of Philadelphia to the Bishop of London, bearing date 30th June, 1775:—

"We now sit down under affliction of mind to address your Lordship upon a subject, in which the very existence of the Church in America seems to be interested. It has long been our fervent Prayer to Almighty God, that the unhappy controversy between the Parent Country and these Colonies might be terminated upon Principles honourable & advantageous to both, without proceeding to the extremities of civil war & the horrors of Bloodshed. . . .

As to public advice we have long hitherto thought it our Duty to keep our Pulpits wholly clear from every thing bordering on this contest, and to pursue that line of Reason and Moderation which became our characters; equally avoiding whatever might irritate the Tempers of the people, or create a suspicion that we were opposed to the Interest of the Country in which we live. . . . "

The letter then mentions that the Continental Congress had ordered a day of fasting and prayer throughout the colonies, and sets forth the impossible position in which the clergy were thus placed. To disregard the proclamation would expose them as the popular party's antagonists, and to pray for the Congress instead of for the King was to them an unthinkable proposition. In their extremity many of them, (among these was Seabury), shut up their churches and braved the consequences, while others allowed the services to proceed but endeavoured to nullify the effect of the Congress' orders by exhorting their congregations to remain firm to the constitution. This resulted in a furious outburst of popular indignation which declared the clergy to

be traitors to the cause of liberty. Shops, mills, and public-houses were plastered with notices forbidding intercourse with "the recusants", and such slogans as "No more passive obedience and non-resistance" were scribbled on the church doors.

The Rev. Philip Reading of Apoquiniminck, Pa., referring to this episode wrote :—

"It was urged as a just cause of complaint against one of the Captains of the Militia that he had lugged his Company to church on the day of a public fast to hear that old wretch (meaning myself) preach, who was always an enemy to the present measures. . . . Threats have been used to deter me from reading the prayers for the King, but hitherto I have stood firm. . . ."

Yet this attitude was not always followed, as appears from the account of a Tory parson in Connecticut, who had prayed so long for "our excellent King George" that one Sunday he inadvertently used his stereotyped phrase, and only saved himself from the vengeance of his hearers by immediately adding "O Lord, I mean George Washington"! His neighbour at New London was not, however, of such pliant principles, for after being warned to discontinue the so-called offensive parts of the State Prayers, he flatly refused to comply. Thereupon "two athletic men drew him from the high seat of his devotions & brought him expeditiously to the level of the floor"; from this sad predicament he was rescued by two stalwart matrons of his congregations who drove off his tormentors and escorted the unfortunate missionary to the house of a friend.

It was about this time that the Rev. Charles Inglis, D. D., (then curate and later rector of Trinity Church, New York), wrote to the Society a graphic description of the sufferings of the clergy :—

"They were everywhere threatened, often revil'd with the most opprobrious Language, sometimes treated with brutal Violence. Some have been carried Prisoners by armed Mobs into distant Provinces, where they were detained in close confinement for several weeks, and much insulted, without any Crime being even alleged against them. Some have been flung into jails by Committees for frivolous suspicions of Plots, of which even their persecutors afterwards acquitted them. Some, who were obliged to fly their own Province to save their lives, have been taken prisoners, sent back, & are threatened to be tried for their lives because they fled from Danger . . . Others have had their Houses plundered & their Desks broken open, under the pretence of their containing treasonable Papers. . . . All the Churches in Connecticut (Mr. Beach's excepted if the

Account be true) as well as those in this Province, except in this City, Long Island & Staten Island where his Majesty's arms have now penetrated, are shut up. This is also the case with every Church in New Jersey, & I am informed by a Gentlemen lately returned from Pennsylvania who had been a prisoner there for some time, that the Churches in the several Missions of that Province are shut up, one or two excepted, where the Prayers for the King & Royal Family are omitted.

. . . About the middle of April, Mr. Washington, Commander in Chief of their Forces, came to Town with a large Reinforcement. Animated by his presence, and I suppose encouraged by him, the Rebel Committees very much harrassed the loyal Inhabitants here & on Long Island. . . . An Army was also sent to Long Island to disarm the Inhabitants who were distinguished for their Loyalty; many had their Property destroyed, & many were carried off Prisoners. . . .”

In the same letter he alludes to the capture of New York by General Howe who “landed on New York Island, four miles above the City; upon which the enemy abandoned the City & retired towards King's Bridge, which joins this Island to the Continent; Early on Monday morning the 16th I returned to the City which exhibited a most melancholy Appearance, being deserted & pillaged. My House was plundered of every Thing . . . & my losses amount to near £200 this Currency, or upwards of £100 Sterling. The enemy carried off all the Bells in the City, partly to convert them into Cannon, partly to prevent Notice being given speedily of the Destruction they meditated against the City of Fire. . . .”

Such is the picture of the times drawn by one of the leading Anglican clergy, but our sympathies must equally be shared with the pastors of other denominations whose inherent distrust of episcopacy was a leading factor in their political outlook. To many of them the doctrine of passive obedience to the royal government meant the deprivation of religious liberty, and this view left them no alternative but to resist. This was the attitude of Dr. John Witherspoon, President of Princeton College, which suffered the fate of the spoliation of its splendid library by the ill-disciplined Hessian auxiliaries of the Royal army. A whole volume could be written of the ravages of these marauders, who spared neither friend nor foe in their ruthless greed for plunder. The state of New Jersey suffered especially, farms were pillaged, churches and meeting-houses burned and destroyed, and public libraries and museums robbed of their treasures. To quote a single contemporary letter of the hundreds that were written: “The fine settlements of Maidenhead & Hopewell have been broken up. The houses

are stripped of every article of furniture; and what is not portable is entirely destroyed. The stock of cattle and sheep are driven off; every article of clothing and house-linen seized & carried away. Scarce a soldier but what has a horse loaded with plunder. Hundreds of families are reduced to poverty & ruin, and left at this inclement season to wander through the woods without clothing. . . . " It is almost a relief to turn from such distressing narratives to a more lively picture of manoeuvres in the field.

The Rev. Jonathan Odell, for many years the Society's missionary at Burlington, who had made himself "exceedingly obnoxious" to the Patriot party, gives an interesting account of an attempted assault by the Royalist troops in December 1776. After stating that his former letters had been intercepted by the local Committees and Conventions, he continues:—

"A Parole was demanded of me, limiting me to within 8 miles of Burlington & binding me to forbear all political correspondence . . . nor to furnish any provisions nor to give any intelligence to the Kings Troops. After giving this Parole I remained unmolested at home till about the middle of last Month, when a Body of Hessians under the command of Count (Von) Donop came to Burlington intending to take Post with us for the Winter. Some of my Neighbours thought it advisable to meet the Commandant on his approach to the Town & to request him to spare the Inhabitants from Insult & their property from pillage, (and) they requested me to go with them to assist in this charitable Address as an Interpreter. I did so and had the pleasure to find that I had a pretty good prospect of being of real service to my peaceable Neighbours. But five Gondolas lying in the River began to cannonade the Town in order to prevent the Troops taking Quarter with us. Many Houses were damaged but nobody hurt. The Hessian Commandant however having with him no heavy Cannon thought proper to retire that Night to Bordentown intending to return with Artillery sufficient to make good his quarters. In the meantime tho' I believe every candid man will wonder why we should be punished for having been left defenceless and for having solicited safety from the King's Troops in our defenceless condition . . . yet true it is, that as soon as it was known on board the Gondolas that the Troops had left us, the Town was cruelly insulted and from day to day kept in Alarm by those River Tyrants. Mr. Laurence, young Mr. Hawlings & myself were in particular persued by two captains & a number of armed men. We made our escape & were under the necessity of taking refuge among the King's Troops, and as the Design of taking Post at Burlington was soon given up, I have been obliged to leave my wife & 3 children (the

youngest not five weeks old,) and to ramble as a Refugee, God knows when to return. . . ."

It is pleasing to read that the author of this letter many years later settled down to a peaceful old-age at New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, whither he had followed his friend Charles Inglis who became the first colonial bishop of the English Church on his consecration to that diocese in 1787. This event—of great importance to our Church in her colonial enterprise—was closely preceded by an occasion of far deeper significance when Doctors William White and Samuel Provoost, were consecrated bishops of Pennsylvania and New York by the English Primates at Lambeth. This event set the seal upon the work of our English missionaries during the preceding centuries, and the churches of the two great English-speaking commonwealths have since advanced from strength to strength united in a happy fellowship by the same Faith "which shall ever endure".

But of the men themselves what shall we say? The missionary of those days found that his furrow was intensely lonely, generally uphill and steep. To puzzling questions of conscience and patriotism—questions which became more acute as the century went by—were added extremes of poverty, separation from his native land, harsh conditions of climate and work, sickness, the alarms due to living in an unsettled country with frontiers constantly exposed to enemies:—no wonder he saw nothing of the "glamour" of pioneering life, but sometimes at the end of his ministry was conscious chiefly of failure and uselessness.

How very differently we can appraise it! That brief present of theirs, seemingly so circumscribed, led to a future universally important—universal because no act or thought of present-day America can fail to be reflected throughout the world. The apparent failure which must have seemed to them immeasurable as events swept forward to the climax of 1783, has borne fruit great beyond telling. It is only in "the high and holy places" that the worth of their achievement can be truly measured. As we think too with pride of their most splendid third jubilee of the American Episcopal Church, you will I believe agree that it is fitting we should also honour and renown those servants of the S. P. G. who, during the 80 years before the consecration of the first American bishop, helped to make its foundation possible by their lives and labours.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION,
DIOCESE OF MASSACHUSETTS,
OCTOBER 5, 1790

By Mary Kent Babcock

FOREWORD

ON Sept. 7, 1784, seven Episcopal clergymen, five from Massachusetts and two from Rhode Island, met in Boston and appointed a committee of three of their number invested with power to summon *this Convention* to meet "when the exigencies of the Church made it necessary". Each clergyman was to propose to his congregation to choose a delegate, and wardens of churches without the regular services of a clergyman were desired to choose one of their number to represent them. A letter sent out in the name of this committee to all Episcopal churches in Massachusetts, Rhode Island and New Hampshire, proposed that they should on

Wednesday, the 7th day of September, 1785, deliberate upon some plan of maintaining uniformity in divine worship and adopting such measures as may tend to the union and prosperity of the Episcopal Churches of the American States.

Then and there the Protestant Episcopal Diocese of Massachusetts came to birth.

The diocese continued to function intermittently until at a convention of presbyters only held at Salem June 4, 1789, a bishop was elected and the diocese found itself in the predicament of having a bishop-elect but with no constitution to keep him in check. Here was the spectre of the Lord-Bishops risen again, that boggy which had so colored Massachusetts history since the days of William Blaxton. That it was a matter of interest to many outside the Episcopal Church is evidenced by contemporary records and that the convention of 1790 well deserved the name of the "Critical Convention" is certain.

This *Plan of a Constitution* by which, with the accretions and modifications of the years, the Episcopal Diocese of Massachusetts is governed, was formulated at the diocesan convention of 1790. A short



THE RT. REV. EDWARD BASS, D.D.

November 23, 1726 - September 10, 1803

First Bishop of Massachusetts

1797 - 1803

*Photograph of the Original Silhouette in the Glenn Tilly Morse Collection
Cut by Master Hanks with Common Scissors*

excursion into the pleasant by-paths of historical research has resulted in this paper in anticipation of the sesqui-centennial in 1940.

CONVOCATION

Hark, the pulpit drum does beat
 Down at Salem all must meet,
 To pull down Samy Parker,
 For F. now he doth clearly see,
 A mighty rival there may be
 Found in our Billy Walter.
 October fifth's the dreadful day
 When N. Y. engines shall display
 Their vengeance on the Bishop
 & clergy too, who held the dish
 & passing by the Salem fish,
 At once caught honest bass up.
 Should debates grow warm, yet fears dispel
 The fish bit hard but lost to chapel.
 'Gainst F. m a protest he drew
 & 'gainst his priests to P. t flew
 With sad, and high complaining.
 'Tis all his strength, to make ado
 He can't convince, but plague you
 Let floundering, flouncing tame him.
 Bentley's Diary, Sept. 21, 1790.

Thus in twenty pungent lines, the sole entry for the day as if to emphasize its importance, the Salem diarist summarized a chapter of Episcopal church history in Massachusetts. The persiflage and puns so characteristic of the eighteenth century would not have been lost on the Boston of 1790, for it portrayed a supremely interesting and critical moment in the history of the Episcopal Church in Massachusetts whose center was in Boston. The *Convocation* was the call of Massachusetts Churchmen to a diocesan convention which was to consider a plan for a state ecclesiastical constitution and thereby force an expression of opinion regarding several vital questions of church polity from sister churches.

The Revolution which had dealt a staggering blow to all Episcopal churches, largely beneficiaries of the *Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts*, had left them with no concerted form of government and divided into factions over questions pertaining to the episcopal office, the revision of the Prayer Book and the Thirty-Nine Articles. No longer under the pastoral care of a bishop three thousand miles away in London, to whose nominal oversight they had been committed by the Venerable Society, they must now provide funds to re-

store their universally deserted and often desecrated churches, but in addition must bear the whole burden of their maintenance and that of the parish priest. This is the aftermath of a seven years' war which had drained men and money out of none too strong colonial missions, always in the minority both as to numbers and influence.

Two Massachusetts rectors stand out as shining lights in the post-war darkness, Samuel Parker of Trinity Church, Boston, and Edward Bass of St. Paul's Church, Newburyport, both of whom by the exercise of great tact and discretion had kept their church doors open during the hostilities. But except in Connecticut, the Church in New England in 1790 was in the anomalous position of an Episcopal Church without an episcopate. Massachusetts, it is true, had held diocesan conventions, had been represented in the second interstate convention of 1784 in New York and had even gone so far as to elect a bishop in 1789 in the person of the Newburyport rector, the Rev. Edward Bass. This election had been accomplished however at a convention of five presbyters only, to which the laity had not been bidden. The churches had, to use a contemporary phrase, "read over their liturgy" as shown in the pasted-over or pasted-in prayers in old Prayer Books, but union with other Episcopal churches in the colonies was imperative.

The convention called for October 5th, 1790 had therefore the dual purpose of considering a constitution by which the diocese might function as a united whole and of serving fair notice on all the other Episcopal churches of what Massachusetts intended to do about the vexed question of the episcopate and lay participation in parochial and diocesan affairs. The political bill of rights for which the thirteen loosely joined states had just waged a successful war was now to have its counterpart in an ecclesiastical bill of rights, if clergy and laity could be united as co-partners in the new deal.

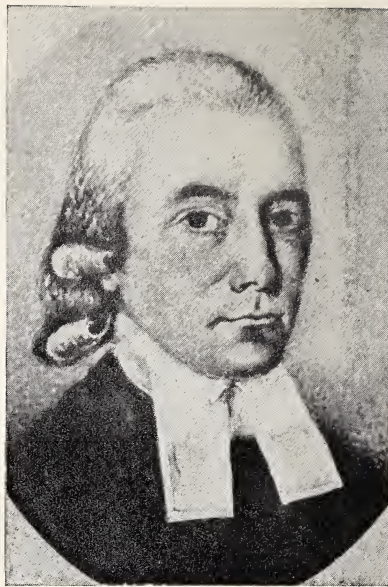
Three factions almost equally strong, out of which was to emerge the unified church, were struggling for supremacy. Connecticut under Samuel Seabury, the first American bishop, had taken the firm stand that the lay vote was non-essential. The southern churches desiring a bishop consecrated by English primates and discrediting Bishop Seabury's consecration by the Scottish bishops, disagreed however with Connecticut that lay concurrence was neither desirable nor essential. Massachusetts inherently antipathetic to bishops, was prepared to contend mightily for equal representation of clergy and laity in church government. These chaotic conditions serve to explain in part the delay which ensued after the first election of Bishop Bass in 1789 and his consecration eight years later after a second election.

Let us now return to the diary entry and decode it as an historical sidelight on a momentous event.

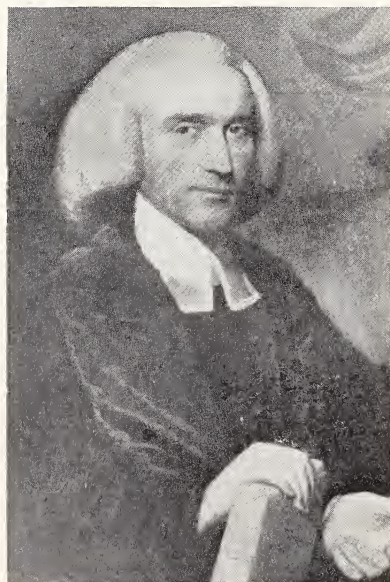
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REV. EDWARD BASS, D.D.,
Rector of St. Paul's Church,
Newburyport, Massachusetts
1790
First Bishop of Massachusetts
1797-1803

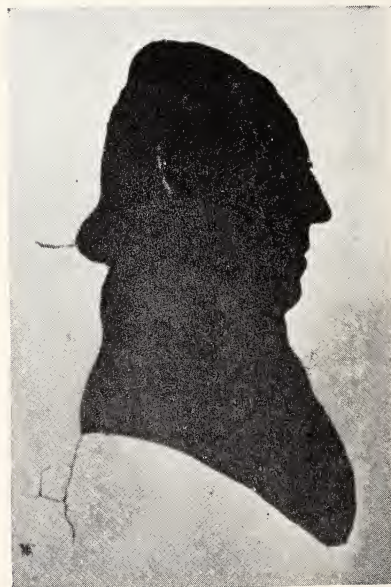


REV. SAMUEL PARKER, D.D.,
Rector of Trinity Church,
Boston, Massachusetts
1790
Second Bishop of Massachusetts
1804



REV. WILLIAM WALTER, D.D.,
Acting Rector of Christ Church, Boston,
1790
Rector 1792-1800

*From an Original Painting
By Courtesy of Miss Helen C. McCleary*



REV. NATHANIEL FISHER, A.M.,
Rector of St. Paul's Church,
Salem, Massachusetts
1790

The *pulpit drum* was the Church's call to meet at St. Peter's church *down at Salem*. *Samy Parker*, whose *pulling down* was predicted, was the energetic and able rector of Trinity Church, Boston, the Rev. Samuel Parker, D. D., whose activity in forwarding the election of a Massachusetts bishop and perhaps his presence at the General Convention of 1789 in which he sat at the request of the united vestries of Christ Church and Trinity Church had not proved wholly acceptable to some of his brethren. *Our Billy Walter*, Loyalist refugee, sometime rector of Trinity Church, Boston, but now repatriated, was the Rev. William Walter, D. D., according to current gossip, "the present object of the episcopate". He was the *mighty rival* of the *Salem fish*, the Rev. Nathaniel Fisher, left out of the 1789 Convention, but as rector of St. Peter's, Salem, now to be host to that of 1790, having been *passed by* when the *honest bass*, the bishop-elect, had been caught up in the episcopal net. His *sad and high complaining* voiced the famous protest of the Massachusetts rectors, vehemently urged by Fisher, against the flagrant misuse of the word "episcopal" in the ordination of the radical lay reader, James Freeman, at the Stone (King's) Chapel, a protest carried to Bishop Provoost of New York, militant enemy of lay participation.

There it all is in a nutshell, wire-pulling, intrigue, dissension, schism, as they appeared to the contemporary outsider. Dr. Bentley however did not live long enough to see the up-swing in all church life coincidental with the deepening of religious convictions forced upon it by the spread of Unitarianism, the phenomenal growth of Sunday Schools and a rising generation eager to try all things and prove that which is good.

One would hardly expect to find in the diary of a Congregational minister more than a passing allusion to an event which could have but casual interest for those outside the Episcopal communion. Much less would he expect to find it in suburban Salem, in the diary of one just emerging into the ranks of the schismatics. Born in the north end of Boston in 1759, graduated with high honors from Harvard in 1777, teacher in the Boston Latin School, then preceptor at the North Grammar School, thence recalled to Harvard as teacher of Latin and Greek, William Bentley had been installed in 1783 as assistant to the Rev. James Diman, pastor for forty-seven years of the Second Congregational or East Church in Salem. A classmate and intimate friend of the young lay reader, James Freeman, who in 1787 had carried King's Chapel off its Episcopal feet into the arms of Unitarianism, his contacts with Episcopalianians in the persons of the rectors of Salem, Marblehead, Newburyport and Boston, all warm acquaintances, and

with pseudo-Episcopalians rallying around Freeman at King's Chapel, provided constant stimulus to one who began his diary for the year 1790, thus:

Religion is the highest pleasure of human life. *Deo sit gloria.*

In the half century following the Great Awakening, individualism in religious circles had been rampant and Methodists, Baptists, New Lights, Friends, Universalists, Unitarians and Episcopalians were continually seeping the foundations of Congregationalism, since the days of Puritan and Pilgrim virtually a state religion. Endowed with a healthy curiosity Bentley noted through thirty-five years, till his death in 1819, the political, social, and religious evolution of a people, analyzing, criticising, speculating, so that his keen eye and ready pen revivify for us a century later many historic scenes and the men who made them.

On the fifth of October 1790 he notes—

This day the Episcopal Convention met in this Town. Some attention will be required to so curious a subject. Who is to stand Canonist for them?

And elsewhere,

Their purpose is to maintain the doctrine of Lay concurrence in the election of a Bishop, to set aside the former proceedings of the Clergy noticed in the General Convention and to deliberate on the most happy method of their establishment. They have at present six Priests.

These he mentions by name, title and cure, Walter and Parker of Boston, Bass of Newburyport, Oliver of Marblehead and the sixth "a Mr. Wheeler, Itinerant preacher in the societies of Braintree etc." adding

They claim fifteen churches, the small ones are Taunton, Mansfield, Dedham, Bridgewater, Scituate, Milton, Cambridge, Portland & Pownalborough.

These with Queen's Chapel, Portsmouth, New Hampshire, comprised in 1790 the whole diocese, a grain of mustard seed among the several hundred religious congregations of the state.

When Oct. 5th the "dreadful day" arrived, Bentley was called elsewhere, but eagerly seeking news of the day's doings he later writes,

as the proceedings of the Episcopal Convention at Salem are printed on sheets and few copies to be found, I have taken the great trouble for future use to transcribe the whole sheet.

This he did entering it word for word in the pages of his diary even to including for posterity the printer's name, John Mycall of Newburyport.

The first day of the convention was occupied with routine details. There were seven clerical and twelve lay deputies. The bishop-elect, he was now Dr. Bass, having on the same day with Samuel Parker of Trinity been made Doctor of Divinity by the College of Philadelphia (now University of Pennsylvania), was chosen president, Dudley Atkins Tyng, his parishioner, secretary. The status of the Rev. John Cousens Ogden, rector of Queen's Chapel, Portsmouth, New Hampshire, was settled after some debate, as a clerical, not lay deputy, and finally a committee was appointed to

frame a Plan of an Ecclesiastical Constitution for the Government of the Episcopal churches in this Commonwealth and such other churches as may be admitted and accede to the same and report to the Convention as soon as may be.

The committee was composed of Dr. Walter, Chairman, Dr. Bass, Mr. Fisher, Hon. Mr. Dalton, Mr. Stockbridge and Mr. Tyng. The convention then adjourned until the next day to meet at St. Peter's church at nine o'clock.

Of the six Massachusetts churches represented in this convention, the material fabric of two alone remains, St. Michael's of Marblehead, erected of imported timbers in 1714, and Christ Church, Boston, built of brick in 1723. Trinity's first wooden barn-like structure, torn down in 1829, was replaced by what is known to this generation as "Old Trinity", which fell a prey to the great Boston fire of 1872. The first St. Paul's of Newburyport, the parish church of Bishop Bass, was succeeded by a fine colonial Church¹ in 1800, but it too fell in flames early in 1900. No church building now standing represents the parishes from which the Rev. William Willard Wheeler was clerical deputy. St. Michael's, Marblehead, has been so altered by anachronous modern windows and "improved" interior as to be unfamiliar to any wandering ghosts of 1790 although they would be quite at home in Christ Church, Boston, happily restored in 1912 to its primitive simplicity. Of the old wooden church of St. Peter's, Salem, where the convention of 1790 met, a charming sketch was made by Dr. Geo. A. Perkins in 1833 when

¹*At a Masonic service at the laying of the corner stone the address was made by the Rev. William Bentley, D. D., Bishop Bass officiating. A wooden mitre capped the tower, the only symbol of the kind in New England.*

it was about to be torn down, enabling us to visualize the exterior setting of the convention and by contemporary records its characteristic interior.

* * * * *

It is early in the morning of October 6, 1790. The old bell "made for St. Peter's in New England, 1740" is calling to prayer. A few idlers are gathered to watch a small group of distinguished looking men as they enter St. Peter's for the second day's session of the Episcopal convention. The most conspicuous personage is a remarkably handsome man in the early fifties, tall and well-proportioned, wearing a clerical full-bottomed wig, dressed and powdered and over his cassock and gown a long, blue cloth cloak. We catch a glint of the silver buckles on his square-toed shoes and his fine black silk hose as he steps over the threshold. His serene and cheerful countenance as he turns in entering breathes the mellow humor for which he is famous. He is Dr. William Walter, well known in the town, being the late Chief Justice Lynde's son-in-law, now in Salem settling the estate to which he has fallen heir. Close beside him, for with courtly grace Dr. Walter has stepped aside to let him precede, is the bishop-elect, broad-chested and portly but of dignified bearing. His long black coat with the big flap pockets contrasts somewhat somberly with Dr. Walter's blue cloak, but his blue eyes and cheerful face radiate happiness and good will. Following him we catch a glimpse of a wiry young man whose sensitive, refined features and alert eyes betray reserves of dynamic energy. He is the Rev. Samuel Parker, D. D. rector of Trinity Church, Boston, the moving power in the convention. That tall, stern-featured clergyman with the rather unbending manner is the Rev. Nathaniel Fisher, rector of St. Peter's and host to the convention. His nearest clerical brother is about to enter, the Rev. Thomas Fitch Oliver, rector of old St. Michael's, Marblehead, renowned among the local clergy for his fine collection of Hogarth engravings and much criticised for his innovation of a chanted psalter said to be the first used in any American Episcopal church. The last comers are the Rev. William Willard Wheeler, representing St. Thomas's, Taunton, St. Andrew's, Scituate, and Trinity, Marshfield, and from as far away as Portsmouth, New Hampshire, the Rev. John Cousens Ogden, rector of Queen's Chapel. He groups himself on entering with the other clerical deputies.

The lay deputies, men of high standing in their home towns, are the Hon. Tristram Dalton and Dudley Atkins Tyng, Esq. of Newburyport, the latter the annual donor of the three-cornered hat worn by Dr. Bass; Samuel Sewall, Esq., of Marblehead, later Chief Justice, with Woodward Abraham, who as lay reader had kept St. Michael's open for six



ST. PETER'S CHURCH, SALEM, MASSACHUSETTS
As it Appeared 1733-1833

From a Water Color by George A. Perkins in the Essex Institute, Salem, Massachusetts.

long years; James Sherman, who had done for Christ Church, Boston, what Abraham had done for Marblehead, and Charles Williams, the two wardens of that anicent church; Charles Stockbridge from St. Andrew's, Scituate, and Trinity, Marshfield; Col. Stephen Abbott and Capt. Daniel Saunders from St. Peter's; and the brothers Henry and Oliver Smith from Trinity Church, Boston, the former its junior warden; in all, seven clerical and eleven lay deputies.

As we listen in retrospection to the clear, musical voice of Dr. Walter "reading the glorious service like one inspired", the full beauty of the Prayer Book English is borne in upon us and if we were near enough we might perceive that the reading is from the great Prayer Book donated to St. Peter's fifty years before by the Rt. Hon. Arthur Winslow, honorary Speaker of the British House of Commons. Such a costly gift could not be discarded for a few outmoded prayers, so they have been re-written and pasted over those for the king and royal family. As the book lies open we cannot see what has been done to the royal arms on the cover.

After the opening prayers, another lay deputy, the Hon. David Cobb from St. Thomas's, Taunton, appears, presents his credentials and takes his seat. The convention now numbers seven clerical and twelve lay deputies. Dr. Walter, chairman of the committee appointed the previous day to frame a plan for a constitution, then rises to report that the committee has made some progress in the business assigned them and asks leave to sit again, whereupon the convention adjourns until eleven o'clock.

While we await the hour, let us gaze about us, for history is here in the making and St. Peter's story will bear repeating. The land on which it stands was the gift of a rich Salem merchant, "a Jersey man who came young into America", the Huguenot, Philippe l'Anglais, anglicised as Philip English. A victim in 1692 of the witchcraft delusion, his estates were confiscated, he and his wife were jailed and finally after long exile they returned to Salem when sanity was restored to the courts. But persecution still awaited him. Over eighty years of age, he was again jailed, this time for refusing to pay church rates toward the support of the East Congregational Church (later, Bentley's) in whose parish he lived. A large double house still owned by him on Prison Lane, now St. Peter's street, he caused to be torn down and, on condition that a Church of England be built on the site, he deeded the lot to a group of fellow-citizens of like mind. An energetic building committee saw to it that funds were collected and a church built that same year, 1733, and by 1734 the S. P. G. were informed that they desired a missionary as there was a constant attendance of two or three hundred at the regular services.

St. Peter's prospered. Just before the Revolution its seating capacity of forty pews had to be substantially enlarged, a new organ replaced the old one installed in 1743 and the tablets containing the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments and the Creed were refurbished, including we hope, that note of gaiety, the "needful cherubs for ornament", of the original specifications. But evil times befell the old church when it 1777 it had to be closed because the rector, the Rev. William McGilchrist obstinately persisted in reading the prayers for the king and royal family. "Rocking" the tory church became a pastime for Salem lads, until when it was about to be re-opened in 1780, scarcely a window pane was left and more than 6,000 dollars (of depreciated currency) was expended to replace the window glass alone.

As we gaze down the center aisle we notice that it is widened at one end to permit a railed enclosure surrounding a Communion Table; there never was a chancel, but the enclosed space was always termed the "Altar". The pulpit is in the center of this end with pews on each side.

* * * * *

And now the real business of the convention is about to begin. The deputies return and Dr. Walter rises to read:

Plan of an Ecclesiastical Constitution² for the Government of the Episcopal Churches in this Commonwealth and such other churches as may be admitted and accede to the same.

Paragraph by paragraph its eighteen articles are read and discussed, embodying such vital questions as lay concurrence, duly notified conventions, with special reference to the election of a bishop, the functions and powers of the episcopal office, a standing committee, etc.

Upon its unanimous approval it was resolved that copies of the proposed plan of a constitution should be submitted to the several Protestant Episcopal churches in this Commonwealth, and in the States of New Hampshire and Rhode Island, who were recommended to send clerical and lay deputies to a convention to be held on the last Tuesday of January 1791, in order "to establish said Constitution for the future Government of said Churches". The convention then adjourned without day.

* * * * *

Now was to come the tug of war. Would the twenty-three congregations, fourteen in Massachusetts, five in New Hampshire and four in Rhode Island, to whom copies of the constitution and resolves had been sent, so far forget their differences and the episcopal bugaboo as

²*For the Constitution in full, see below in this issue, pp. 162-164.*

to unite for the good of the whole Church? Could they be made to see that in union only was strength?

The convention to which they had been requested to send properly instructed deputies was held at Trinity Church, Boston, January 25, 1791. It must have been a bitter disappointment to the rector of Trinity and the bishop-elect when only four clerical deputies including themselves, and eight lay deputies were seated. However when the question of the ratification of the tentative constitution framed in the previous October was put to vote, there were only "yeas" recorded and "so it passed unanimously in the affirmative".

Weeks went by and not a single other parish registered its opinion. Something had to be done. Then on March 21st, 1791 the committee, Samuel Parker and William Tudor, issued an appeal to the dilatory parishes soliciting their "immediate and candid attention". How desperate the situation appeared is evidenced by the following paragraph in a broadside still in the possession of Christ Church, Cambridge.

The present period presents a crisis in the Protestant American Episcopal Church. The general Constitution, as well as the Liturgy has been adopted by all the other States and it now remains for the Members of the Church in this State and New Hampshire to determine whether they will exhibit themselves as Dissentients, or unite in a General Government of the Church throughout the United States, adopted after great Consideration, by acceding to the few judicious alterations, and joining in one common Liturgy and uniform Mode of Government. We flatter ourselves that they will both meet your approbation, and that you will ratify them as being most expedient at this juncture and as promotive of that Union which is so necessary to advance the peace, prosperity and security of our Communion.

On the 24th of May, 1791 the annual convention of the diocese had for its most important business the consideration of the general constitution as set forth at Philadelphia in October, 1789, and though after much debate there were three contrary votes, it passed in the affirmative and Massachusetts was at last in union with the other states, only a bishop needful for complete episcopal organization.

The indifference, or inertia, or both, of the laity of Massachusetts had henceforth still to be reckoned with, for the annual convention of May 29, 1792 was only brought to an end after four adjournments for lack of a voting majority. The handful of delegates present finally requested the standing committee of the preceding year to call a convention in the following July that they might proceed to elect deputies to the forthcoming general convention in New York in September.

But on July 19, 1792 there were not enough lay deputies present, either at the morning session or the adjourned afternoon session, and though an attempt was made to dispense with a full representation of the lay vote, the motion failed and Massachusetts was not represented at the general convention of 1792.

You may read the dry official report of the next annual convention in 1793 or choosing to view it from the outside, may consult Bentley's diary under date of May 28, 1793.

Went for Boston to spend the Election days. Heard Dr. Walter at the Trinity Church before the Episcopal Convention. Four Clergymen of that Church appeared, & all except Dr. Bass of Newbury belonged to Boston. The Assembly was very thin, & the Contribution could have been little support from the few present. The Doctor included the ministerial qualifications under knowledge, holiness and zeal. Under the first he included Casuistry, & talked much in the methodistic style. He delivered well, & was very solemn in his address.

This was the convention which cut the gordian knot of insufficient numbers by unanimously voting that thereafter those members present at one o'clock P. M. on the Tuesday preceding the last Wednesday in May, should have full power to transact to completion any business before the convention.

At last in 1794 the standing committee was instructed to send out, three months in advance of next year's convention, circular letters to all the churches in union with the convention relative to the election of a bishop. But the time was not yet ripe, for the 1795 convention voted that "at the present time it is inexpedient to come to the election of a Bishop" and not until May 24, 1796 was the Rev. Edward Bass for the second time elected bishop, the Salem rector again "passed by", casting the sole negative vote.

Owing to technicalities nearly a year elapsed before the bishop-elect was consecrated on May 7, 1797, in Christ Church, Philadelphia, by Bishops White, Provost and Claggett, as first bishop of Massachusetts. He returned to his diocese late in May.

This time Dr. Bentley needed no Election Day excuse to visit Boston. It was sufficient to know that the good Dr. Bass, with whom he had so often "tarried at tea", was returning fresh from his long-delayed consecration, and a Massachusetts bishop was to be received by his clerical brethren for the first time in its history.

May 30, 1797. Went in the early Stage which runs before 6 in the morning to Boston & reached the Town before 10

o'clock. As this was the day on which the Bishop Edw. Bass, D. D. was to be received by his clergy, I attended at Trinity Church. There were few persons present, not exceeding thirty, and only a part of the Clergy. The credentials were read by Dr. Parker, standing at the left side of the altar & the Bp. was on the right. Dr. Walter addressed him before the altar, the clergy standing without. The Bishop rose when addressed & answered in the same position. The Bishop had a surplice under a cloak without sleeves. Dr. Walter read prayers and the Bp. preached. The Solemnities were not calculated to produce a grand effect.

Pomp and circumstances we know it lacked but what strikes the reader today is the note of affection in the closing paragraph of Dr. Walter's address to the bishop, "in the name and by the order of the Convention".

Long may you possess your honors; long may we enjoy your presence, and late, very late, may He who holds the keys of the invisible world remove you from this seat of dignity on earth to a seat of eminence proportionate among the spirits of the just made perfect in the Kingdom of his Father.

His inward satisfaction in the now "complete organization of our Church" yet leaves the newly-consecrated bishop a humble suppliant for the precious gift of union amongst themselves.

In our endeavors to promote the interest of the Church of Christ in this Diocese something will depend upon me, and much, Reverend Brethren, upon you; and, give me leave to observe, that much also will depend upon our brotherly correspondence and cordial harmony and agreement among ourselves—That our united efforts may be happily successful, for the edification of the Church and rendering it truly respectable and flourishing, shall ever be the wish and prayer of your faithful servant and affectionate brother, Edward Bass.

Massachusetts does well to honor the memory of the valiant few, clergy and laity alike, to whom, under God, she owes her presence in the councils of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States.

MINUTES OF THE FIRST CONVENTIONS OF THE
DIOCESE OF MASSACHUSETTS
JOURNALS, 1784 - 1790

AT a Convention of the Episcopal Clergy of the States of Massachusetts and Rhode Island, held at Boston, in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Sept. 8, 1784.

PRESENT.

Rev. John Greaves, Providence.
Rev. Edward Bass, Newburyport.
Rev. Moses Badger, Newport.
Rev. William Willard Wheeler, Scituate and Marshfield.
Rev. Stephen C. Lewis, Christ Church, Boston.
Rev. Nathaniel Fisher, Salem.
Rev. Samuel Parker, Trinity Church, Boston.

Rev. John Greaves, of Providence, was chosen Moderator.
Rev. Nathaniel Fisher, of Salem, Secretary.

Voted. That Rev. Mr. Bass, Mr. Fisher, and Mr. Parker, be a Committee and invested with power to summon this Convention to meet at such time and place as they shall judge most convenient, when the exigencies of the Church make it necessary, and that each clergyman, propose to his congregation, to choose one of their number, as a Delegate to attend said meeting; and that said Committee, also write to the Wardens of those Churches that are destitute of a regular Clergyman, and propose to them to choose one of their number to represent them at said meeting.

A true extract from the Minutes of Convention.

Attest, , Secretary.

In consequence of the within vote, the said Committee agreed to call a Convention of the Episcopal Churches, at Boston, on Wednesday, Sept. 7, 1785, and wrote the following Letter to the Churches, at Portsmouth, Claremont, and Holderness, in New Hampshire; at Falmouth, Newburyport, Salem, Marblehead, Trinity and Christ Churches in Bos-

ton, Dedham, Stoughton, Braintree, Bridgewater, Scituate, and Marshfield in Massachusetts; at Newport, Providence, Bristol, and Narragansett Rhode Island State,—viz:

Gentlemen,—Pursuant to a vote passed in a Convention of the Episcopal Clergy of Massachusetts and Rhode Island, Held at Boston, Sept. 8, 1784, appointing the Rev. Messrs. Edward Bass, Nathaniel Fisher, and Samuel Parker, a Committee, and empowering them to call a Convention of the Episcopal Churches in this and the neighboring States, to meet at such time and place as they shall judge most necessary and convenient; You are hereby requested to propose to the Church of which you are Wardens, to choose one of your number, to meet in Convention in Boston, on Wednesday, the 7th day of September next, then to deliberate upon some plan of maintaining uniformity in divine worship, and adopting such measures as may tend to the union and prosperity of the Episcopal Churches in the American States.

I am, gentlemen, in behalf of said Committee,

Your most obedient and very humble servant,

JOURNAL, 1785.

At a Convention of Clergymen and Lay Deputies of the Episcopal Church of the States of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and New Hampshire, held at Boston, Sept. 7 and 8, 1785.

PRESENT.

Rev. Edward Bass, rector of St. Paul's Church, Newburyport.

Rev. Wm. Willard Wheeler, Rector of the united Churches at Scituate, Marshfield, Braintree, and Bridgewater.

Rev. Nathaniel Fisher, Rector of St. Peter's Church, Salem.

Rev. Samuel Parker, Rector of Trinity Church, Boston.

Hon. Tristram Dalton, Esq., Deputy of St. Paul's Church, Newburyport.

Stephen Greenleaf, Esq., and Mr. Benjamin Greene, Deputies of Trinity Church, Boston.

Thomas Ivers, Esq., and Mr. James Sherman, Deputies of Christ Church, Boston.

Dr. Charles Stockbridge, Deputy of Scituate, Marshfield, and Bridgewater.

Rev. Wm. Willard Wheeler, Deputy of Braintree.

Mr. Woodward Abraham, Deputy of Marblehead.

Mr. Joshua Kingsbury, Deputy of Dedham.

Mr. Joseph Aspinwall, Deputy of Stoughton.

Mr. John Bours, Deputy of Trinity Church, Newport, Rhode Island.

Mr. John Usher, Deputy of Bristol, R. I.

Dr. Francis Borland, Deputy of Queen's Chapel, Portsmouth, N. H.

Voted, Rev. Edward Bass, President of the Convention.

Voted, Rev. Nathaniel Fisher, Secretary.

Voted, That the Clergy and Laity now assembled shall deliberate in one body, but shall vote separately, and the concurrence of both orders shall be necessary to give validity to every measure.

Voted, That the Convention take into consideration the revival of the Liturgy and offices of the Church, as contained in the Book of Common Prayer, and make such alterations as may be necessary; and that the omissions and alterations, agreed upon by a Committee of Convocation, held at Middletown in Connecticut, August 3, 1785, as contained in paper No. 1, serve as a basis for our present proceedings.

The Convention then proceeded to a revision of the State Prayers, in the Book of Common Prayer, and came to the following resolutions as a substitute for the State Prayers.

That in the Suffrage after the Creed, in morning and evening prayer, instead of, "O Lord, save the King", it be read O Lord save the Church, to which the congregation are to make the accustomed response, "and mercifully hear us," etc.

That the prayer for the King, in morning and evening service, be left out; and the prayer for the Royal Family be thus altered,—Almighty God, the fountain of all goodness, we humbly beseech thee to bless the Governor and Council of this Commonwealth, endue them with thy Holy Spirit, and so on, as it now stands.

That in the Litany, the 15th, 16th, 17th, and 18th petitions be omitted, and the petition for Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, immediately follow that for the Universal Church; the 20th and 21st petitions be thus read,—that it may please thee to endue the Governor and Council of this Commonwealth with grace, wisdom, and understanding; that it may please thee to bless and keep the Judges and subordinate Magistrates, giving them grace to execute justice and to maintain truth;—to both which, the usual response, "we beseech thee to hear us, good Lord," is to be made by the congregation.

That in the prayer for the whole state of Christ's Church Militant, the part relating to Rulers and Ministers, be thus altered:—We beseech thee also to save and defend, all Christian Kings, Princes, and Governors, and grant that they and all that are in authority, may truly and impartially minister justice to the punishment of wickedness and vice, and to the maintenance of thy true religion and virtue; give

grace, O Heavenly Father, to all Bishops, Priests and Deacons, that they may,—and so on, as it now stands.

That the prayers for the King, that stand before the Nicene Creed, in the Communion Service, be omitted.

That in the Answer in the Catechism, to the Question, “What is thy duty towards thy neighbor,” for, “to honor and obey the King”, be substituted to honor and obey my civil rulers, to submit myself, etc.

That during every session of the General Court, the following Collect be used in the proper place:—Most Gracious God, we humbly beseech thee, as for this Commonwealth in general, so especially for the General Court at this time assembled, that thou wouldest be pleased to direct and prosper all their consultations, to the advancement of thy glory, the good of thy Church, the safety, honor, and welfare of thy people; that all things may be so ordered and settled, by their endeavors, upon the best and surest foundation, that peace and happiness, truth and justice, religion and piety, may be established among us, for all generations;—these, and all other necessities, we humbly beg, in the name and mediation of Jesus Christ, our most blessed Lord and Saviour. Amen.

That the observation of 5th November, 30th January, 29th May, and 25th October be discontinued.

Various minor changes in the Liturgy were made:

“He descended into Hell” omitted in the Apostle’s Creed.

Use of the Nicene Creed optional.

The Sign of the Cross in Baptism may be omitted if particularly desired by the Sponsors.

The office of the Churching of Women omitted except the latter part of the introduction.

That the Absolution in the office of the Visitation of the Sick, be expunged, and the Absolution used in the Communion Service, be substituted in its stead, if necessary.

That the Introduction to the Marriage Service, containing the reasons why matrimony was ordained be omitted.

Together with other minor changes.

Voted, That it be recommended to the several Churches in these States, immediately to make the omissions, and adopt the alterations contained in the printed paper No. 1, and agreed upon in this Convention, as a substitute for the State Prayers, in the Book of Common Prayer, and that the using the other alterations be postponed till after the time to which this Convention shall be adjourned, in order that it may be seen, how far the other States will conform to said alterations.

Vote, That it is the opinion of this Convention, that it is not necessary nor convenient to send a Delegate or Delegates to the General Convention to be holden at Philadelphia on the Tuesday preceding the Feast of St. Michael, but that a copy of the proceedings of this Convention be communicated, by a Committee to be hereafter chosen, to the President or some member of said Convention, to be communicated to said Body, and also to the Bishop or Clergy of Connecticut, previous to the Convention to be held at New Haven, to be communicated to them, requesting a speedy communication of each of their proceedings to said Committee.

Voted, That said Committee furnish all the Churches in the three States not represented here, and those whose members are absent, with a copy of the alterations in the Liturgy, agreed upon by this Convention and request of them a return of their actings thereon, to this Convention, at their adjournment.

Voted, Rev. Mr. Parker, Thomas Ivers, Esq., and Mr. Benjamin Greene, be said Committee, with a power to employ a Clerk to assist them.

Voted, That the Rev. Mr. Bass and Mr. Fisher be a Committee to form a Collect, to be inserted among the occasional prayers for the case of persons who have lost their friends, for persons sick, and for persons bound to sea, and report at the adjournment.

Voted, That this Convention be adjourned to October 26th, and in case the Committee shall not then have received the returns from the Conventions at New Haven and Philadelphia, that they be authorized to adjourn said Convention, to such future day as they shall judge best, and notify the members of the same.

In consequence of the preceding votes of Convention, attested copies of the proposed alterations in the Liturgy and Offices of the Church, were transmitted to the Churches and Clergymen.

One to the Right Rev. Bishop Seabury, New London, Con.

One to the Rev. Bela Hubbard, New Haven, Con.

One to the Rev. Benjamin Moore, New York.

One to the Rev. William White, D. D., Philadelphia.

One to St. Paul's Church, Newburyport, Mass.

One to Trinity Church, Boston, Mass.

One to Christ Church, Boston, Mass.

One to St. Peter's Church, Salem, Mass.

One to United Churches at Scituate and Marshfield.

One to Christ Church, Braintree, Mass.

One to Church, Marblehead, Mass.

One to Church, Falmouth, Mass.

One to Trinity Church, Newport, R. I.
 One to St. Michael's Church, Bristol, R. I.
 One to Church, Providence, R. I.
 One to Church, Narragansett, R. I.
 One to Queen's Chapel, Portsmouth, N. H.
 One to Church, Claremont, N. H.
 One to Church, Holderness, N. H.

The Committee chosen at the foregoing Convention, and empowered to adjourn said Convention to a further day, did, by virtue of said power, adjourn said Convention several times, and sent the following circular Letters to the several Churches in these States:

Boston, Oct. 20, 1785.

Pursuant to a vote passed in Convention, held at Boston, Sept. 7, and 8, empowering their Committee to adjourn said Convention from Oct. 26, to a further day, provided no returns from the Conventions at New Haven and Philadelphia shall be seasonably received, you are hereby notified that no returns have as yet come to the hands of said Committee, and they have therefore thought best further to adjourn said Convention to Wednesday, the seventh day of December next, then to meet at Boston, at which time your attendance is requested.

I am, in behalf of said Committee,

your most humble servant,

S. PARKER, Chairman.

Boston, Nov. 15, 1785.

By letters lately received from a member of the General Convention, held at Philadelphia Sept. 27th, we are informed that that Body has revised and altered the Liturgy and Offices of the Church so much that there is no possibility of giving us an idea of them but by sending one of their new Prayer Books, which is now in the press, and shall be forwarded with the Journal of said Convention as soon as printed.

In consequence hereof, the Committee of Convention, held at Boston Sept. 7, have, by and with the advice of such of the members as they have had an opportunity of consulting, agreed further to adjourn said Convention from December 7, to April 26, 1786, in order that we may be well apprized of the doings of the General Convention, and of the Bishop and Clergy of Connecticut, before we come to a final conclusion respecting the alterations proposed by our own Convention.

Of this you will please take notice, and govern yourself accordingly.

I am, in behalf of said Committee, your most
obedient and very humble servant,

S. PARKER.

1786.

Boston, April 27, 1786.

The gentlemen chosen to represent the several Episcopal Churches, in this and the neighboring States, in the Convention held at Boston, Sept. 7, 1785, and which stood adjourned to Wednesday, April 26, 1786, were, most of them, by the stormy disagreeable weather, or some other causes, prevented from attending at said adjournment, by which means nothing could be transacted.

In consequence hereof, the Committee chosen at the last meeting have thought best further to adjourn said Convention to Thursday, July 20, being the day following the Commencement at Cambridge. At which time you are requested not to fail of giving your attendance, as matters of the greatest importance to the welfare of the Church will then come under consideration, and the alterations in the Liturgy, proposed at the meeting of Sept. 7, last, be accepted or rejected.

I am, in behalf of said Committee, your most
obedient and very humble servant,

S. PARKER.

(There are no records of any journals after this until 1790, when a convention met at Salem, attended by seven clergy and eleven lay deputies. At this convention, an Ecclesiastical Constitution for the Episcopal Churches of the Commonwealth containing seventeen articles was presented and unanimously adopted.)

JOURNAL, 1790.

At a Convention of Clergy and Lay Deputies of the Protestant Episcopal Churches hereafter named, holden at Salem, in the County of Essex and Commonwealth of Massachusetts, October the 5th, 1790, viz :

CLERGY.

Rev. Edward Bass, D. D., Rector of St. Paul's Church, Newburyport.
Rev. William Walter, D. D., Rector of Christ Church, Boston.
Rev. William Willard Wheeler, A. M., Rector of St. Thomas's, Taunton; St. Andrew's, Scituate; and Trinity Church, Marshfield.
Rev. Nathaniel Fisher, A. M., Rector of St. Peter's, Salem.
Rev. Samuel Parker, D. D., Rector of Trinity Church, Boston.
Rev. Thomas Fitch Oliver, A. M., Rector of St. Michael's Church, Marblehead.

Rev. John Cousens Ogden, A. M., Rector of Queen's Chapel, Portsmouth, N. H.

LAY DEPUTIES.

Hon. Tristram Dalton, Esq., and Dudley Atkins Tyng, Esq., St. Paul's Church, Newburyport.

Mr. James Sherman, and Mr. Charles Williams, Christ Church, Boston. Charles Stockbridge, Esq., St. Andrew's, Scituate, and Trinity, Marshfield.

Stephen Abbott, Esq., and Mr. Daniel Saunders, St. Peter's Church, Salem.

Mr. Henry Smith, and Mr. Oliver Smith, Trinity Church, Boston. Samuel Seward, Esq., and Mr. Woodward Abraham, St. Michael's, Marblehead.

Rev. Edward Bass, D. D., was chosen President.

Dudley Atkins Tyng, Esq., was chosen Secretary.

The Lay Deputies produced their several credentials, which were read and deemed satisfactory.

Resolved, That the Clergy and Laity, now assembled, shall deliberate in one body, but shall vote separately, and the concurrence of both orders shall be necessary to give validity to every measure.

Resolved, That the Lay Deputies vote by Churches, but no Lay Deputy shall be permitted to have more than one vote.

The Question was put, "Whether the Rev. John C. Ogden shall be admitted to a seat in this Convention, as a Lay Deputy from Queen's Chapel in Portsmouth, N. H.?" and after some debate thereon it was resolved in the negative.

The question was put, "Whether the Rev. John C. Ogden shall be admitted to a seat in this Convention, as Rector of Queen's Chapel?" and after some debate thereof, it was resolved in the affirmative.

Rev. Dr. Walter, Rev. Dr. Bass, Rev. Mr. Fisher, Hon. Mr. Dalton, Mr. Stockbridge, and Mr. Tyng were appointed a Committee to frame a Plan of an Ecclesiastical Constitution for the Government of the Episcopal Churches in this Commonwealth, and such other Churches as may be admitted and accede to the same, and report to the Convention as soon as may be.

The Convention adjourned until nine o'clock to-morrow morning, then to assemble in St. Peter's Church in this town, and the Rev. Dr. Walter was requested to read prayers.

Wednesday, Oct. 6, 9 o'clock, A. M.

The Convention met pursuant to adjournment, in St. Peter's Church.

The Rev. Dr. Walter read prayers, agreeably to the request of the Convention.

The Hon. David Cobb, Esq., appeared as Lay Deputy from St. Thomas's Church, Taunton, and produced his credentials, which were read and deemed satisfactory, and he took his seat in Convention accordingly.

The Rev. Mr. Walter, from the Committee appointed to frame a Constitution, reported that the Committee had made some progress in the business assigned them, and asked leave to sit again.

Adjourned to 11 o'clock.

Met pursuant to adjournment.

Rev. Dr. Walter, from the Committee appointed to frame a Constitution, reported a plan of an Ecclesiastical Constitution, which was read and considered by paragraphs, and, after sundry amendments, was unanimously approved, and is as follows, viz :

Plan of an Ecclesiastical Constitution for the Government of the Episcopal Churches in this Commonwealth, and such other Churches as may be admitted and accede to the same.

1. A Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Churches who shall accede to this Constitution, to consist of the Clergymen of the said Churches, and one or more Deputies, not exceeding three, being Laymen, to be chosen by each congregation, shall be held in Boston, on the Tuesday preceding the last Wednesday in May annually. But the time and place of meeting shall be subject to alteration by the Convention; and Special Meetings may be called at other times by the Bishop for the time being, and also in the manner herein-after provided.

2. A majority of the Clergy and of the Lay Deputies of the congregations adopting this Constitution shall be assembled before the Convention shall proceed to business; except that the members present shall have power to adjourn from day to day, not exceeding three days in the whole, and, if a majority shall not then be assembled, the members may adjourn without day.

3. The Clergy and Lay Deputies in Convention shall deliberate in one body, but shall vote as two distinct orders; and the concurrence of both orders shall be necessary to give validity to every measure.

4. Each congregation represented in Convention shall have one vote, and no Deputy shall represent more than one congregation.

5. In Convention, a person shall preside with the title of President and when a Bishop shall be properly consecrated and settled in this

Church, he shall be, by virtue of his office, a member of the Convention, and, when present, shall preside therein.

6. A Secretary shall be appointed by the Convention, removable at pleasure, who shall keep a fair record of the resolves and proceedings of the Convention, and have the same in his custody so long as he shall continue in office.

7. Standing rules, for the orderly conducting of business, shall be established at the first meeting of the Convention.

8. Every Lay Deputy shall, previously to his admission to a seat in Convention, produce a testimonial of his appointment, subscribed by one or both of the Church Wardens, or by the Clerk of the proprietors.

9. The Clergy who shall minister in this Church, shall consist of three orders, Bishops, Priests and Deacons.

10. No Bishop shall ever be elected for this Church but at an annual meeting of the Convention; nor without three months previous notice being given, of such election intended, by the Standing Committee; and every such election shall be by ballot.

11. The peculiar office of a Bishop consisting in the power of Ordination and Confirmation, and of superintending the Clergy of his Diocese, and of precedence in Ecclesiastical Assemblies, the same shall be accordingly so exercised in this Church.

12. No public censure shall be inflicted by the Bishop upon any Clergyman under his inspection, other than shall be directed by the institutions of this Church hereafter made in Convention.

13. No Clergyman shall hereafter be settled in any of the Churches who shall accede to this Constitution, until he shall produce sufficient testimonials of his having been regularly ordained by a Bishop.

14. No person shall be admitted to Holy Orders, until he shall produce to the Bishop satisfactory testimonials of his morals, piety and prudent conversation, signed by three Clergymen at the least.

15. No person shall be admitted to Priests' Orders, until he shall have attained the age of twenty-four years, unless specially recommended thereto by the Convention; nor to Deacons' Orders, until he shall have attained the age of twenty-one years.

16. No Bishop of another Church shall exercise his Episcopal authority in this Church, unless in the case of the vacancy thereof, or, at the request of the Bishop of this Church; and then only to ordain and confirm, the former, in case of a vacancy, and the latter, by desire of the Clergyman and members of a particular Church.

17. The Standing Committee shall consist of three Clergymen and three Lay Deputies, to be elected by the Convention, who shall have the power mentioned in the tenth Article, and also power to call special meetings of the Convention, as they may think necessary, and to provide

a suitable place for the assembling thereof; and no business shall be transacted at any special meeting of the Convention, other than such as shall be mentioned in the notification for such meeting.

18. This Constitution shall not be subject to alteration in any Article, except at the annual meeting of the Convention, nor unless such alteration shall have been proposed at least one meeting previous to its adoption.

By order,

W. WALTER, Chairman.

Unanimously

Resolved, That copies of the said plan of a Constitution be transmitted to the several Protestant Episcopal Churches in this Commonwealth, and in the States of New Hampshire and Rhode Island; and that it be and hereby is recommended to the Clergy of these Churches to attend, and to the congregations respectively to elect one or more Lay Deputies, to assemble, in Convention, to be holden at Boston, in the County of Suffolk, on the last Tuesday of January next; and that the said Deputies be authorized, in behalf of their respective congregations, to agree upon, and, by and with the consent of the said Clergy, who shall be then convened, to establish the said Constitution for the future Government of the said Churches.

Resolved, That the President and Secretary be and they hereby are requested to carry the foregoing resolution into effect.

Resolved, That the Rev. Dr. Bass be requested to preach a Sermon at the opening of the proposed Convention in January next.

The Convention then adjourned without day.

Attest,

DUDLEY A. TYNG, Secretary.

Copies of the above were sent to fourteen Churches in Massachusetts, five in New Hampshire and four in Rhode Island.

1791.

A Convention was called for January 25th, when the proposed Constitution was unanimously adopted and it was voted that copies be sent to congregations not represented for their assent or dissent. Also plans were made for a Convention for the following May to pass upon the matter of adopting the Constitution and Form of Prayer set forth by the General Convention at Philadelphia, October 1789.

In May the General Constitution was approved by a vote of seven to three and the Form of Prayer was adopted. A Committee was appointed to arrange for printing the Prayer Book.

1792.

Attendance insufficient for transacting business.

1793.

Second Article of Constitution amended so that members present should constitute a quorum for transacting business.

1794.

Notice to be sent to all the Churches that at the next Convention, May, 1795, a Bishop is to be elected for the Churches of the Commonwealth.

1795.

Election of Bishop postponed for a year. Delegates chosen for the General Convention.

1796.

Rev. Edward Bass, D. D., elected first Bishop of Massachusetts.

1797.

"The Clergy and Lay Delegates of the several Churches in the Commonwealth being assembled at Trinity Church (in Boston) on Tuesday, the 30th of May, 1797, being the day of their annual Convention; the Delegates being seated in the front pews in the Church, the Clergy conducted the Bishop, clothed in his Episcopal robes, from the Vestry-room to the Altar, where he took his seat on the north side, the Clergy standing in front. The Rev. Dr. Parker ascended to the south side, and turning to the congregation, read the vote of the Convention at their annual meeting, 1796, making choice of the Rev. Edward Bass for their Bishop, and the Bishop elect's answer of acceptance."

Bishop Bass had been consecrated in Philadelphia, May 7, 1797, by Bishops White, Provoost, and Claggett.

This year also a memorial was presented to "His Excellency Samuel Adams, Esq., Governor and Commander in Chief in and over the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, and the Honorable Council", requesting that "Fast Day", annually proclaimed by the Governor as a day of "fasting, humiliation and prayer", should not be appointed for the week following Easter Sunday.

1798.

Advisory Council appointed for the Bishop.

Bishop Bass died Sept. 10, 1803.

Rev. Samuel Parker, D. D., was elected Bishop the following May, consecrated at Trinity Church, New York, Sept. 14, 1804 and died Dec. 6, of the same year. Bishops White, Claggett and Jarvis were Bishop Parker's consecrators.

Massachusetts was without a Diocesan until 1810, when a Convention was called to meet in Rhode Island for the purpose of organizing the "Eastern Diocese", to consist of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Vermont and New Hampshire, and to elect a Bishop for the same. Rev. Alexander Griswold, apparently somewhat to the surprise of all concerned, including himself, was elected to this office.

This Diocese was to meet in Convention every two years in the different States in rotation. Meanwhile, all through these years, Massachusetts continued her yearly Conventions, which were known as "State Conventions" in contrast with the biennial ones of the Eastern Diocese, known as the "Diocesan Conventions". Bishop Griswold, when he was present, presided at the Massachusetts State Conventions as well as at the Diocesan Conventions. Maine automatically became part of the Eastern Diocese in 1823. Vermont became an independent diocese with its own Bishop (Dr. John Henry Hopkins) in 1832.

After the death of Bishop Griswold, in 1843, the Eastern Diocese ceased to exist. Bishop Eastburn, as Coadjutor, succeeded to the Massachusetts See, and the other States proceeded to elect Bishops of their own.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Present State of Virginia, and the College. By Henry Hartwell, James Blair, and Edward Chilton. Edited, with an introduction, by Hunter Dickinson Parish, Williamsburg, Virginia, Colonial Williamsburg, Incorporated, 1940.

Shortly after the restoration of Williamsburg, Virginia, was undertaken, a department of historical research was added. This beautifully printed and illustrated volume is one of its first fruits, and the fore-runner of others to follow.

The Present State of Virginia was first written in 1697, and published in 1727 with this title page:

T H E
PRESENT STATE
OF
V I R G I N I A ,
AND THE
C O L L E G E :
BY
Meffieurs { Hartwell,
 Blair, and
 Chilton.

To which is added,
The C H A R T E R for Erecting the
faid C O L L E G E, granted by their
late Majefties King W I L L I A M and
Queen M A R Y of Ever Glorious and
Pious Memory.

.....
L O N D O N :
Printed for J O H N W Y A T, at the Rofe in
St. Paul's Church-yard, M.DCC.XXVII.
(Price 1 s. 6 d)

The authors were not Virginians, but all occupied influential positions in the Colony. Hartwell and Chilton were distinguished lawyers and both trustees of William and Mary College. Of the trio, the best known was James Blair. Scotch by birth, he migrated to Virginia as a missionary in 1685 and four years later was appointed commissary to Henry Compton, Bishop of London. He may be justly regarded as the founder of William and Mary College of which he was appointed president "during his natural life". The story of his stormy career and his bitter quarrels with Governor Andros and Governor Francis Nicholson is brilliantly outlined in this book. Lt. Governor Gooch, wrote his brother, the Bishop of Norwich: "The commissary is a very vile old fellow". The original

narrative embraces a review of the natural resources of Virginia at the turn of the seventeenth century, together with a classification of its inhabitants who are divided into "Planters, Tradesmen and Merchants". There follows an illuminating account of the powers of the Royal Governor, the Council, the Houses of Assembly and the Courts of Justice.

SECTION XI. "*Concerning the Church and Religion*" will be of special interest to the readers of *The Historical Magazine*. It may be assumed that this part of the narrative was the work of Blair. The number of Dissenters "are very inconsiderable". The tenure of the ministers was precarious. The authors state "that he must have a special Care how he preached against the Vices that any great man of the Vestry was guilty of", for the minister was "hired" only by the year. As commissary, Blair had "no Salary nor Perquisites, but the King makes it up by his Royal Bounty"—£100 a year.

In the section dealing with William and Mary College it is noted that the founders designed that the College should also be a "Seminary for the breeding of good Ministers, with which they were but very indifferently supply'd from abroad", all of which is set forth in the Charter printed in full in this volume.

This first of the projected series of The Williamsburg Restoration Historical Studies is invaluable. It owes much to the careful editing of Hunter Dickinson Parish who contributes a critical introduction and is to be the editor of the series. He was aided by an advisory committee of eminent historians from Harvard, Yale, and Princeton.

E. CLOWES CHORLEY.

Salvador de Madariaga. Christopher Columbus, being the life of the very magnificent lord Don Cristóbal Colón. 1940. The Macmillan Company, New York. (x. p., [1]l., 524 p., front., 2 fold. maps, and map on end papers.)

"Literary production among the Columbists . . . shows no tendency to slacken in volume despite the scarcity of fresh evidence," wrote a foremost American member of the clan recently. "Only two new documents have come to light in the twentieth century, and there appears little hope of important additions in the future. The next stage . . . should be that of re-evaluating the existing sources . . . and correcting the frequently erroneous printed versions." [C. E. Nowell, "The Columbus question . . ."—*American Historical Review*, July, 1939]. Madariaga's book is an illustration of re-evaluation and adds a corroboratory source that is "new" in English [pp. 46-48].

As a literary production, Madariaga's work is a worthy addition. Brilliantly written, clear in the most abstruse and closely argued parts, it offers one of the few English interpretations of Columbus and his times which shows insight into Spanish history and character. All its important factual material can be read in English—even to the extensive data upon the Jewish situation—but the sidelights and spirit are woven into the story by one of the greatest and most *castizo* of contemporary Spanish minds. Even as popular history the book is worth while. It is based on extensive documentation, though the notes are relegated to the back of the volume. There are excellent maps, and good indices. Quips in the best Spanish satirical mood enliven the style, like the one about the monks of San Stefano, who "possessed the usual clerical knack for combining contempt for worldly goods with ownership of houses," [p. 27], or about the relations of Bartholomew Columbus with Anacaona, "a young Indian widow who went about

dressed like Venus when she came out of the waves, and the flesh is weak (by which we mean that it is too strong for us) . . . " [p. 313].

From the viewpoint of a scholarly review, the praise must be more restrained. In the publisher's announcement and in the author's apportionment of space, it is evident that the book is to be regarded as a contribution to Columbian criticism. Examination of the evidence convinces Madariaga that the less vainglorious parts of the stories ascribed to Columbus about an early start to his sea-faring life, and his exploits with the French corsair-admiral Casenove-Coullon, are probably true. They convince him further that Columbus' family in Genoa was of Catalan-Jewish origin, and that he was himself a *converso*, or Christian of Jewish stock. This latter idea is, so far as I am aware, a few years old only, and has previously been suggested in English only in a little known book by Maurice David, published in 1933.

Madariaga's evidence for the Catalan-Jewish ancestry depends on changes in his name, on his characteristic acts, and on his language. The comment upon his character, scattered through the book, is impossible to summarize briefly. A concrete point concerns his lack of patriotism in fighting with Frenchmen against Genoese. As for language, Madariaga asserts the following: Columbus read but did not write Italian; he wrote Spanish for his personal use and he knew Latin as a Spanish speaking person would, though he learned both before he came to Spain; his Spanish was corrupted with Catalan and Italian forms and words. Madariaga deduces from this that although Columbus may have known Italian well, his culture language was Spanish, and claims that the only explanation is that his family were Spanish-Catalan Jews settled in Genoa but retaining their old language.

Obviously most of the above rests upon inference guided by a subjective idea as to how such an emigré family and *converso* would act. The reasoning is so ingenious and fine-spun that the most friendly reader must suspect its validity in places, and it rests upon facts which are themselves debatable. Service with the Frenchman is doubted by practically all scholars, though Madariaga makes a better case for it than has been made before, but I am uncertain in any case what it would prove about fifteenth century patriotism. As for language, Cecil Jane, before his lamentably early death, showed that it is not certain that Columbus was even literate before 1492 [*Hispanic American Historical Review*, April, 1930]. Even if he was, boyhood departure from Genoa, and a Catalan tutor in Latin, could as easily explain his language equipment as Madariaga's thesis.

The *converso* question is not necessarily affected by any of the above, there presumably being such groups of Italian origin in Genoa, and Madariaga does find [p. 56-57, 319, 329, 356] an impressive hint that Columbus was regarded with suspicion in Hispaniola and even by Las Casas. Against all of this inference there is the fact that no contemporary is known plainly to have called him *converso*, in an age when his many enemies would have delighted merely to hope it. And as Professor S. E. Morison says in discussing the book [*American Historical Review*, April, 1940], if one is to deduce things from Jewish traits, Columbus "was weak in celestial navigation, where his Jewish contemporaries were strong, and strong in practical seamanship, one of the few callings in which Jews have never excelled."

On the whole, though I desire to keep an open mind and do not entirely reject Madariaga's thesis, I cannot accept it. If one chops off the first six chapters of the

book, it is a brilliant and interesting biography of an enigmatic and important figure. The less attention the non-specialist pays to the early chapters, the better it will be.

ROLAND DENNIS HUSSEY.

University of California at Los Angeles.

I Remember. By William H. Owen. Privately Printed. 150 copies. 1939.

Whoever is fortunate enough to secure a copy of this volume will find in it a mine of wealth for historical purposes. It enshrines the recollections of a presbyter of this Church, an enthusiastic son of Yale, and an old New Yorker. Possessed of a retentive memory he has drawn upon his varied experiences to make up a book of singular charm and interest. It abounds in clear-cut pictures of men like Bishop Henry Codman Potter, Leighton and Lewis Parks, William S. Rainsford and David H. Greer. Some of the recollections are really thrilling—such as the vivid account of the fire which destroyed St. Thomas' Church, the blizzard of 1888 and "Bottle Night at Yale". It is gossipy without the least touch of malice; personal without being egotistical. Just a book to be read by the fireside on a winter evening.

Golden Jubilee, 1889-1939. St. Andrew's Church, Arlington, Poughkeepsie, N. Y. 1940. Pp. 35.

A well written and beautifully illustrated story of the Fifty Years of St. Andrew's, Poughkeepsie. The record of small beginnings resulting in the creation of a parish noted for its good works and especially devoted to the dissemination of the "Catholic Faith". Its value, for historical purposes, is enhanced by the printing of a list of Memorials, Benefactors and members of the Congregation.

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THE GENERAL CONVENTION AND THE PRESERVATION OF OUR CHURCH'S HISTORICAL MATERIAL

By Edgar Legare Pennington

WHAT official action has been taken by the Episcopal Church in America towards the preservation of its historical sources? Much has been done by certain dioceses in the way of assembling records, collecting journals, offering safe-keeping for letters and diaries, and even facilitating the publication of diocesan histories. There have been some excellent local accounts published, from the time of Frederick Dalcho's really remarkable treatment of the Church in South Carolina (1820) to the present; and men like Andrew Fowler (1760-1850), William Meade (1789-1862), Ethan Allen (1796-1879), Francis Lister Hawks (1798-1866), George Burgess (1809-1866), and William Stevens Perry (1832-1898) laid a foundation on which future historians might build, by gathering available data, tabulating existing records, or looking beyond the seas for light. It is not our purpose to review the contributions which they made, or to enumerate the histories which have been compiled—general, diocesan, or parochial; rather we shall confine our attention to the official procedure of the Protestant Episcopal Church in General Convention.

It was not likely that the Church of the formative period of American national history would concern itself with such impractical affairs as the collecting of archive material. At the Convention of "the Bishops, Clergy, and Laity of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America," held in the city of New York in 1804, there was first adopted by the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies (September 15) and afterwards (September 17) "immediately taken up and passed" by the House of Bishops a "Canon providing for an accurate view of the state of the Church from time to time." This Canon is of importance, as it prescribed the preservation of reports, records, and journals throughout the Church; it may be said to be the

definite starting-point in the assembling of our Church's historical source-material. The Canon is as follows :

"As a full and accurate view of the State of the Church, from time to time, is highly useful and necessary, it is hereby ordered, that every minister of this Church shall present or forward, at every annual Convention, to the bishop of the diocese, or, where there is no bishop, to the president of the Convention, a particular account of the state of his parish or Church; and these parochial reports shall be read, and entered on the Journals of the Convention. At every General Convention, the Journals of the different State Conventions since the last General Convention, together with such other papers, viz., Episcopal charges, addresses, and pastoral letters, as may tend to throw light on the state of the Church in each diocese, shall be presented to the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies. And the parochial reports inserted on those journals, together with the Episcopal addresses and the Episcopal registers, specified in the 2d Canon of 1801, shall be read in the said house. These journals and documents shall then be sent by the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies to the House of Bishops, who shall be requested to draw up a view of the state of the Church, adding such remarks or counsel as they may think proper: the whole in the form of a Pastoral letter from the House of Bishops, which shall be read in the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies, and printed with the Journals of the Convention, for the general information of the Church.

"It shall be the duty of the Secretary of the Convention of every diocese or state, or of the person or persons with whom the journals, or other Ecclesiastical papers are lodged, to forward to the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies, at every General Convention, the documents and papers specified in this Canon. At the first General Convention held after the passing of this Canon, the Journals of the state Conventions, since the organization of those Conventions, with the Constitutions and Canons of the Church in each state respectively, with all other useful Ecclesiastical documents, shall be presented to the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies, and sent, as before directed, to the House of Bishops."¹

In compliance with this Canon, the following documents were laid before the Convention of 1814: A certified copy of the records of the Church of Massachusetts to 1813, inclusive; a certified abstract of the returns made to the Rhode Island Convention; a printed journal of the Connecticut proceedings for 1811, 1812, and 1813; printed journals from New York, 1785-1813; printed journals from New Jersey, Penn-

¹*Journal of the Proceedings of the Bishops, Clergy, and laity, of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America . . . 1804, pp. 10, 19, 38-39; William Stevens Perry, ed.: Journals of General Conventions of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the United States, 1785-1835, I., 298, 309, 325.*

sylvania, and Maryland for 1811, 1812, and 1813; and Virginia and South Carolina journals through 1813. There was thus an assembling of diocesan official records. Furthermore, for some years afterwards, the General Convention Journals included brief but valuable accounts of the progress of the Church in the different fields of operation.

It was at this 1814 Convention—held in Philadelphia—that a reprinting of the General Convention Journals was recognized as imperative; and it was resolved “that the journals of the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, from the commencement of the said conventions; together with an appendix, containing the Constitution and Canons of the Church, be published under the superintendence of the Bishop of this Church in Pennsylvania; provided a number be engaged for, sufficient for the encouragement of a bookseller.”² The result of this resolution was the publication in 1817 of what is known as Bioren’s edition, which contains the General Convention Journals from 1785 to 1814; Bishop William White contributed an “explanatory preface.” John Bioren was a bookseller of Philadelphia. At the 1817 Convention, Bishop White expressed the hope that the members would “take such measures in the States to which they respectively belong, as may prevent Mr. Bioren from suffering loss, and even ensure to him a gain, from this his exertion to serve the Church.”³

Efforts to republish the General Convention Journals, subsequent to the appearance of Bioren’s edition, date from 1835. At the General Convention held that year in Philadelphia, it was resolved that the Secretary be authorized to procure ten sets of the Journals, which, when duly certified to and bound, would constitute the records of the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies; and that the Secretary be authorised to have all the succeeding Journals of the General Convention certified to and prepared as aforesaid, for the same purpose. It was resolved that a joint committee of both houses be appointed to procure, “by some publishing house, the printing at its expense, and for its profit, of all the Journals of the General Convention since 1785, together with all the Pastoral Letters which have been set forth by the House of Bishops.” While publication was delayed for some time, as will be seen, the 1835 Convention is a milestone in the progress of our Church’s historic consciousness, as it brought to the foreground the Reverend Doctor Francis Lister Hawks and his concrete propositions for the preservation of American church-lore.⁴

²*General Convention Journal*, 1814, pp. 8, 24; Perry, ed.: *Journals of General Conventions . . . 1785-1835*, I., 408, 429.

³Perry, ed.: *Journals of General Conventions . . . 1785-1835*, I., 486, 487-488.

⁴*General Convention Journal*, 1835, pp. 25, 107; Perry, ed.: *Journals of General Conventions . . . 1785-1835*, II., 575, 671.

American historians owe much to Hawks. Born in Newbern, North Carolina, June 10, 1798, he attended the University of his native state, studied law, and was admitted to the bar. He was appointed reporter of the Supreme Court of North Carolina, and elected to the State Legislature in 1823. After studying theology under William Mercer Green, he entered the ministry in 1827. In April, 1829, he became assistant to Doctor Harry Croswell at Trinity Church, 'New Haven; but went to Philadelphia, a few months later, as assistant minister at St. James'. He was elected Professor of Divinity at Washington (now Trinity) College, Hartford, in 1830, and rector of St. Stephen's, New York, in March, 1831. The following December, he became rector of St. Thomas' Church, New York. He soon acquired a reputation as one of the foremost preachers of the Church. From St. Thomas' he resigned in 1843, because of financial difficulties incident to the failure of St. Thomas' Hall, a school for boys which he had established at Flushing, Long Island, in 1836. Afterwards he was rector of Christ Church, New Orleans (1844-1849), and of Calvary Church, New York (1849-1862). He resigned from the latter charge during the War because of his southern sympathies, and went to Baltimore as rector of Christ Church. In 1865, he returned to New York as rector of the newly established parish of the Holy Saviour. Three times he declined election to the episcopate. Besides his law reports and a history of North Carolina, he published several important contributions to American Church history. His *Contributions to the Ecclesiastical History of the United States* (1836-1839) deal with the early Church in Virginia and Maryland. He collaborated with William Stevens Perry in the *Documentary History of the Protestant Episcopal Church* (1863-1864). He was an official of the Protestant Episcopal Historical Society at the time of the publication of its two volumes of *Collections* (1851 and 1852-1853). He wrote a *Commentary on the Constitution and Canons of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, and was one of the founders of *The New York Review and Quarterly Church Journal* (ten volumes, 1837-1842).⁵ He passed away in New York, September 26, 1866.

On the 24th of August, 1835, a communication from Doctor Hawks was read before the House of Bishops. Therein he announced that "for more than five years" he had been collecting "from every source which was accessible to him," such material as he could procure for a history of the Episcopal Church in the United States. His efforts had been more successful than he could reasonably have anticipated, yet much

⁵*The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge*, V., 176.

remained to be done. "Every day's delay . . . must increase the difficulty, and the time is not far distant when one source of information (the testimony of living witnesses who *saw* the early struggles of the Church) will be lost forever." Hence he appealed to the "great legislative council of the Church at large" for its co-operation in saving "for those who are to come after us" all that can be gathered of the early ecclesiastical history.

Next he proceeded to outline a plan. First, let some individual be appointed as "a collector and conservator of all books, pamphlets, documents, manuscripts, &c., which are connected with or throw light upon the proceedings of the Church in any part of our country either in past or present times. And to this individual, let there be confided such documents as the Church already possesses." Secondly, let the conservator have permission "to ask *in the name of the Church at large*, and not merely as an individual," for such contributions of books, documents, &c., at home and abroad, as might further the objects of his appointment.

"It may not be generally known to the members of the Convention, that a large mass of materials for our colonial church history exists in manuscripts in England. A request from *the Church* of this country might procure what would not so readily be yielded to individual solicitation. The archiepiscopal palace at Lambeth, the office of the venerable Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, as well as some other institutions in London of less note, are known by the writer to contain valuable documents illustrative of our early history."

Thirdly, Hawks recommended that some safe place of deposit be selected—he suggested the Library of the General Theological Seminary. "Let the books, documents, &c., belonging to the General Convention be there kept in a case by themselves, under a lock and key, accessible to all persons under proper regulations for consultation, but to be removed by no one." The conservator should be made responsible for their preservation; and he should present a report of their condition and of additions thereto to every General Convention.

In addition, Hawks offered a personal donation of all the periodical publications of the Church which he had collected—more than seventy-five volumes. He was sure that the Church might, with little effort, procure perfect sets of every periodical published in this country by members of the communion. He also begged the Convention to accept some twenty bound volumes of journals from the several diocesan conventions. "Probably what is here offered, added to what the Con-

vention owns already of diocesan journals, will furnish the most perfect sets that it is now possible to procure anywhere." Forty¹ bound volumes of pamphlets, alphabetically indexed, were furthermore presented. These pamphlets were "almost entirely connected with some matter of interest to the Church;" many were of an early date and controversial. Hawks recommended that the conservator be particularly careful to add to that part of the collection.

Not the least important of Hawks' donation was his private collection of letters and manuscripts. By application to the families of the early clergy, he had been presented with many original documents. He felt that these should belong to the Church at large rather than to himself as an individual, so long as they concerned the Church or threw light on its history. He had arranged these documents chronologically, and had bound a single volume as a specimen of the best mode of preservation.

"The precise number of manuscript volumes in my possession cannot be stated: probably, however, at the least, there will be *twenty*, when all the manuscripts are received which have been promised."

On the 28th of August, Bishop William Meade of Virginia, as Chairman of the Committee on Doctor Hawks' communication, reported a resolution of thanks for the generous offer of books, periodicals, and manuscripts, and recommended that Bishop White and Doctor Hawks be respectfully requested to apply, in the name of the Convention, to such persons or societies in England alluded to by the latter and solicit documents or copies thereof which might throw light on the history of the Church in America. It was further resolved "that a conservator of all the books, pamphlets, and manuscripts of the Church, be appointed by the General Convention, whose duty it shall be to receive and preserve all such books, pamphlets and manuscripts, as the Church may now own, and in the name of the Church, respectfully to solicit its friends to add to the same, by donations of any books or manuscripts which may serve to illustrate the history of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States." For the present, it was resolved that the books, pamphlets, and manuscripts belonging to the Church be deposited in the Library of the General Theological Seminary, with the Trustees' consent; that the same be kept under lock and key under the care of the conservator or some person appointed by him; that "under such regulations as the conservator may adopt to ensure their safety, the said books may be consulted" but not removed; and that the conservator triennially report the condition of the library to the

Convention. For the purpose of defraying the expenses attendant upon the collection and preservation of the books, manuscripts, &c., the conservator should be permitted "to solicit pecuniary contributions to this end;" and it was recommended that the churches appropriate a small portion of their annual contributions for this purpose. Doctor Hawks was requested to act as conservator.⁶

Thus originated the office of conservator in the Church. Later the conservator's functions became those of the historiographer; although in 1838, the Reverend Samuel F. Jarvis was appointed historiographer "with a view to his preparing, from the most original sources now extant, a faithful Ecclesiastical History, reaching from the Apostles' times, to the formation of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States," while Doctor Hawks, "now conservator of all the books, pamphlets, and manuscripts of this Church," was requested to prepare "a condensed view of the documents he has collected, so as to form a connected History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States."⁷

In consequence of the steps taken at the 1835 General Convention, a tremendous impetus was given to the assembling of the Church's archives. Doctor Hawks proved himself a man of far-reaching vision. With the donations which he made and with the transcripts of material buried in British collections and unknown to secular historians, he was destined to provide future students with rich facilities for research.

In March, 1836, Hawks sailed for England, furnished by Bishop White with proper credentials, and recommended as to the purposes of his mission to the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London. He received a very cordial reception from both these prelates. In an interview with the Archbishop, soon after his arrival, his Grace expressed a deep interest in the prosperity and welfare of the American Church and said that he thought it was wise to make efforts to preserve authentic materials for history; he added that it afforded him pleasure to aid in so good a work. As President of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, the Archbishop (William Howley) furnished Hawks with a note to the Secretary, desiring that he might have free access to the documents and records of that institution. An introduction to Sir Henry Ellis, the Keeper of the British Museum, made accessible to him its rare treasures of early American tracts; and he was freely permitted to make his researches in the valuable collection of manuscripts at Lambeth Palace. The manuscripts under the control of the Bishop of London (Charles James Blomfield), at

⁶*General Convention Journal, 1835, pp. 89-90, 100; Perry, ed.: Journals of General Conventions . . . 1785-1835, II., 651-654, 663-664.*

⁷*General Convention Journal, 1838, p. 113.*

Fulham Palace, were also submitted to Hawks' inspection, with full permission, both from the Archbishop and from the Bishop, to make copies of any papers that might seem valuable or important to him. Describing the treatment he received, Hawks said:

"The truly kind spirit they (the prelates mentioned) manifested toward our Church, and toward myself, as being her agent in this business, was, during my whole stay, most gratifying to my feelings, as a Minister of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States. Nor must I omit here to mention, that from some of the Clergy of the Church of England, I received the most valuable aid in my labours. The Rev. Mr. (H. H.) Norris, of Hackney, whose interest in our Church had led him to some research into its early history, was especially kind. He freely bestowed his time, his influence, and his labours, in furthering the great end I had in view; and it is due to him to say, that, but for his valuable assistance, my mission would have been far less successful than it was. I met with no Clergyman of the Church of England, who took a deeper interest in the welfare of our Communion, and none to whom, in the business of my agency, the thanks of the Church in this country are more justly due."

Hawks examined the documents at Lambeth Palace, the correspondence of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, and the letters and documents of the former Bishops of London, preserved at Fulham. By direction of the Archbishop, his copyists were furnished with every facility for making transcripts at Lambeth; the Bishop of London caused all the parcels relating to America to be selected from the mass of documents in his possession, and these Hawks was permitted to examine at his leisure. From the bound volumes of S. P. G. missionary correspondence, dating from 1701 to the American Revolution, and the large mass of unbound manuscripts, Hawks caused transcripts to be made of such portions as were useful in illustrating the history of the American Church. The result of his labours was eighteen large folio volumes of manuscripts, which he arranged chronologically and assorted with reference to the colony or province from which they came. These were bound. Surely the General Convention was rich in unpublished documents.

The volumes cost two thousand dollars; and Hawks was happy to report to the General Convention of 1838 that they were paid for.

"As the Agent of the Convention . . . I applied to the Corporation of Trinity Church, in New-York, asking its aid to procure these valuable documents for the Church, and the Vestry very liberally appropriated \$1500 towards the expense

of copying. A gentleman of the Church of the Ascension, in New-York, gave me for the same purpose, \$125, the residue I was happy to be able to give myself."

In his "Conservator's Report to the General Convention of 1838," Doctor Hawks described the steps which he had taken in securing copies of the British manuscripts and published copies of his letters of appreciation to the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, and the Secretary of the S. P. G. He included a very beautiful and touching letter from Archbishop Howley, expressing his hope "that the relation thus providentially established between the two Churches will subsist unimpaired, and will be acknowledged by mother and daughter with sentiments of mutual respect and affection to the end of the world." Doctor Hawks mentioned other additions to the General Convention collection, such as periodicals, books and pamphlets, and some manuscripts obtained in America from the descendants of deceased bishops and clergymen. "Among them are the original Canonical documents on which nearly all of our Bishops have been consecrated."⁸

The General Convention returned thanks to Doctor Hawks "for the assiduous fidelity with which he has devoted himself to the important work of procuring, both at home and abroad, so many and such valuable documents essential to the history of this Church, and for his ingenious care and skill in arranging them in the best manner for use and preservation;" and resolved that he be "earnestly requested to proceed with such despatch as his other engagements, and the importance of the work shall allow, in discharge of the great work entrusted to him by this Convention, as *Historiographer of the American Church*."⁹

The same Convention resolved that a joint committee procure the printing of all the Journals of the General Convention since 1785, together with all the pastoral letters of the House of Bishops, and append to such edition a suitable index. Bishop Benjamin Tredwell Onderdonk of New York, Doctor Hawks, and the Reverend Henry Anthon, D. D., of New York, were appointed to the joint committee.¹⁰ This committee made a report to the General Convention of 1841, asking that the committee be empowered to procure the publication of a complete edition of the Journal, together with the canons and other documents published with the same, and a complete set of the Constitution and Canons of the Church with a copious index; that the same committee be authorised to superintend the printing, to form the index, and to adopt the most efficient means for securing the entire

⁸*Ibid.*, pp. 131-136.

⁹*Ibid.*, p. 119.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, pp. 47-48, 105.

accuracy of the edition; and that the edition thus published be certified by the committee as an edition published under the authority of the General Convention; further, that "as soon as arrangements conformably to the above resolutions are made with a printer, the Committee do cause proposals for the edition to be extensively circulated; and that they be authorised and requested to adopt, in the name of this Convention, suitable measures to secure for the undertaking the general patronage of the Church."¹¹ The report was adopted. In 1844, however, Bishop Onderdonk reported to the General Convention that the joint committee had "not been able to accomplish the object of their appointment, and request to be discharged." In this request both houses concurred.¹² The matter of republishing the Journals was not brought up again for several years.

At the 1847 General Convention, Doctor Hawks submitted a report of "the facts connected with (his) duties and acts as a Conservator of Church Documents." He stated that the pecuniary expenses attending the procuring of these documents had been borne by him, with the exception of \$1500, which he had begged from Trinity Church, New York, and \$100 presented to him by a gentleman of New York. In addition to these sums, the business had cost him \$2500. The documents from England had all been bound; and on the cover of each, he had caused to be printed the words, "Property of General Convention." Inside each volume, there was a statement "whence the documents came, and a certificate of their accuracy as copies."

"To these Documents I have since added a great many others, from the papers of our deceased Bishops and Clergy. These, as fast as I arrange, I put into bound volumes also, and it will be seen the number is not small, when I state that I have the papers of Bishop White, touching the Church, those of Bishops Hobart, Ravenscroft, and others; those of Dr. Smith, the Rev. Mr. Peters, and other Clergymen, all of which I am preserving for the Church. And here I would mention that I was particular in preserving in bound volumes the Documents which Bishop White had in the case of the Consecration of our Bishops anterior to his death. These are the *original* evidence of our Episcopal succession, and therefore important. I wish to get all *subsequent* to Bishop White's death, to keep the testimony complete. Now, all these Documents are kept by me with great care, and it is perfectly understood by my family and brethren of the Clergy living near me, that all, (should I die,) must be delivered to the General Convention. I have heretofore made a list, and will, for further security, send Dr. Wainwright, when I reach home,

¹¹*General Convention Journal*, 1841, pp. 110-111.

¹²*General Convention Journal*, 1844, pp. 28, 129-130.

a full list. . . . I have also many printed books and pamphlets, (the latter are bound up to a certain time,) which are yet *mine*, but which I have told the General Convention, I shall give to it, when I have finished my use of them. This department I also add to when I can."

Doctor Hawks said that he was using all the materials above enumerated.

"I have on hand now, partly written, histories of our early Church in Massachusetts, Connecticut, North and South Carolina; and the General Convention was kind enough, long since, to pass a resolution, authorising me to keep all I had in possession while I needed the use of them in my work. The suggestion that the library of the General Seminary should be their *final* place of deposit, was mine; but such it was understood was not to be the case until I had finished my use of them. The Church may be assured that I will take every care in my power of these Documents, for no one can estimate their value and importance more than I do."¹³

The concluding statements seem to imply that there had been some anxiety lest the documents pass out of the possession of the General Convention. At any rate, the equivalent of a vote of confidence was passed and concurred in both houses. It was resolved that Doctor Hawks "have leave to retain in his hands the said books, pamphlets and manuscripts, so long as he shall require the same for use, under his appointment as Historiographer of the Church; *Provided*, that in order to protect the rights of the General Convention in case of Dr. Hawks' death, he do execute a declaration of trust concerning the said books, pamphlets, and manuscripts, to the General Theological Seminary, specifying such as are now in his hands, and declaring that he holds the same in trust for the General Convention; said declaration of trust to be deposited in the keeping of the Registrar of the House of Bishops; and further *Provided*, that the original documents and evidences pertaining to the consecrations of Bishops of this Church be not included in this permission, but left, as required by the fourth Resolution of 1835, under which the Conservator received his appointment."¹⁴

The next three years witnessed the publication of the two volumes of *Collections of the Protestant Episcopal Historical Society*—valuable compilations, containing much which Doctor Hawks had gathered in England and reproducing some of the results of local research. The first volume (1851) contained some of the correspondence of George

¹³*General Convention Journal*, 1847, p. 153.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 154, 83, 158.

Keith and John Talbot, a reproduction of George Keith's Journal, an early account of the church at Burlington by Jeremiah Bass, a study of the Non-Juring Episcopate in America, a communication regarding the state of the Church from 1730 to 1740, a list of persons licensed to the plantations by the Bishop of London from 1745 inclusive, a list of Anglican parishes in America in 1724, George Whitefield's letters regarding the missionaries, an article by Doctor Hawks on the efforts to obtain the episcopate before the Revolution, thoughts upon the present state of the Church of England in America (1764), a letter from the Archbishop of Canterbury to Doctor William Smith of Pennsylvania (1776), some material bearing on the Virginia glebes, and two 1703 North Carolina items. Volume II. of the *Collections* was a memoir of the life of the Reverend Jacob Bailey, missionary at Pownallborough, Maine, Cornwallis and Annapolis, Nova Scotia, with illustrations, notes, and an appendix, by the Reverend William S. Bartlet. It was published by Stanford and Swords, New York, in 1853.

The Church was growing more conscious of the importance of preserving its historical records; and the middle of the Nineteenth Century was characterized by activity in this direction. In the General Convention of 1853, Bishop George Washington Doane observed that no record of the consecration of many of the bishops of the Church appears on the Journals. The Secretary of the House of Bishops was, therefore, requested to obtain such as have been omitted, and publish the whole list of consecrations from the beginning. As a result, *Appendix L* (pp. 373-403) of the 1853 General Convention Journal contains the letters of consecration of the first sixty bishops of the American Church, including the names of the consecrators, beginning with Samuel Seabury and ending with Thomas Fielding Scott (January 8, 1854). (The writer respectfully suggests that this important item have a special index-card in every seminary and research library.)

The subject of an index for the whole series of General Convention Journals was brought up in 1853. Both houses concurred in the resolution that "an Index be made of all the principal matters contained in the Journals of the several General Conventions of this Church, from the beginning;" but it was with the provision that the funds in the treasury of the Convention be sufficient, after paying the incidental expenses of the Convention, to meet the cost.¹⁵ Three years later, the matter was again agitated; and the Secretary was appointed a committee to confer with publishers about issuing a stereotype edition of all the Journals at the expense and for the profit of said publishers.¹⁶ This was found impracticable.

¹⁵*General Convention Journal, 1853, pp. 143, 115.*

¹⁶*General Convention Journal, 1856, p. 129.*

Yet it was viewed with alarm that every three years the question of reprinting the Journals was revived and allowed another postponement. The original documents were rapidly disappearing. Even when Bioren's reprint was authorised, there was but one entire collection of the originals from which this reprint could be made even in the knowledge of the Presiding Bishop (1817). A few years later, Bioren's edition had become a collector's item. In 1859, a committee of the House of Deputies reported that "after no little inquiry" they believed there were fewer than ten entire sets of the Journals in the possession of dioceses or individuals in the land. Efforts to republish the Journals, subsequent to Bioren's edition, dated back as far as the Convention of 1835; still nothing had been accomplished. The committee appointed in 1859 (Edward Y. Higbee, D. D., of New York; Junius M. Willey, of Connecticut; William Stevens Perry, of New Hampshire; Samuel B. Ruggles, lay deputy of New York; Samuel Ide, lay deputy of New Hampshire; M. A. De Wolfe Howe, Secretary of the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies) expressed their conviction that the work of reprinting the Journals was "one that should be done, and done at once."

"Each unsuccessful attempt—each three-years' Delay—but adds to the difficulty of ever securing the result desired."

The committee suggested that, while the reprint would not be undertaken by any responsible publisher at his own risk, nevertheless "the end desired may be obtained by means of subscriptions from the many individuals, libraries and legislative bodies of our Church, to whom such documents would be peculiarly valuable and interesting."

The following resolutions were offered by the committee:

"WHEREAS, It is the duty of the Church to make generally accessible the annals of its legislation, both for the guidance of its law-makers, and for the information of students of its history: . . .

"And WHEREAS, The Documentary History of the General Convention is now wholly out of print, and rarely to be met with,

"RESOLVED, That a Committee of six be appointed from this House to secure, either by subscription or otherwise, the republication of the Journals of the General Convention from A. D. 1785, to A. D. 1853, inclusive, provided that no pecuniary obligation be assumed by this Convention.

"RESOLVED, Further, that the said Committee be authorized and empowered to add to this republication suitable

Historical Notes and a copious Analytical Index, and that they have full power with reference to the same."¹⁷

These resolutions were adopted; and Doctor Hawks was admitted to membership on the committee, as Historiographer of the Church. Efforts to secure the early issue of the reprint followed; and in 1861, the first volume of the proposed series appeared, edited by Doctor Hawks and the Reverend William Stevens Perry. But the attention of the public was diverted from this enterprise by the breaking out of the War, almost immediately after the issue of the first volume. "The failure of the publisher, the apathy of the subscribers, and the general engrossment in other matters, caused the abandonment of the project, and fears were felt that for many years, at least, the work could not be accomplished."¹⁸

William Stevens Perry, just emerging into importance by reason of his interest in the Church's history, was to prove a worthy successor of Doctor Hawks. He was born at Providence, Rhode Island, January 22, 1832; and educated at Harvard College and at the Virginia Theological Seminary at Alexandria. From 1857 to 1858, he was assistant at St. Paul's, Boston; for the next eighteen years, he was in charge of churches at Nashua, New Hampshire; Portland, Maine; Litchfield, Connecticut; and Geneva, New York. For a short time, he was president of Hobart College. In 1876, he was consecrated Bishop of Iowa. His death occurred at Dubuque, May 13, 1898. In collaboration with Hawks, the *Documentary History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America* was begun with the publication in 1863 and 1864 of two volumes of unpublished documents concerning the Church in Connecticut (Francis L. Hawks, D. D., LL. D.; William Stevens Perry, A. M., Editors). It was designed to publish a goodly portion of the transcripts which Hawks had brought back from the British archives more than a quarter of a century before. When Hawks died (1866), the task devolved on Perry, who brought out five volumes of *Collections* (or *Papers*), based on the General Convention documents—Virginia, 1870; Pennsylvania, 1871; Massachusetts, 1873; Maryland and Delaware, 1878 (usually the last two are combined in a single volume). Perry published a number of other important historical works, including his two volumes *History of the American Episcopal Church* (Boston, 1885). His 1874 edition of the General Convention Journals will be noted later.

At the General Convention in 1868, resolutions were passed in

¹⁷*General Convention Journal*, 1859, pp. 131-135.

¹⁸Perry, ed.: *Journals of General Conventions . . . 1785-1835, I., (Introduction)* 9.

recognition of the splendid contribution made by the late Doctor Hawks; William Stevens Perry was elected Historiographer in his stead. The descendants of Bishop William White donated to the General Convention certain documents which had been the property of their distinguished ancestor and which had been placed in Doctor Hawks' hands for examination and custody. A special committee, appointed to examine and report upon the manuscripts and printed volumes received by Perry from the executors of the late Doctor Hawks, reported that the said manuscripts and printed volumes had been carefully and minutely examined, and were ready to be deposited in the Archives of the Church. "These manuscripts and printed volumes comprise the transcripts made in England, at the expense of the General Convention, from the original documents in the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth, from the Library of the Bishop of London at Fulham, and from the letter-books of the venerable Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts; in all, eighteen folio volumes of historical matter, the value of which cannot be too highly estimated. Besides these important folios, this collection comprises the correspondence of Bishop White, Bishop Hobart, and Bishop Ravenscroft, and the Rev. Drs. William Smith, and Samuel Peters. These letter-books containing the letters of all who were prominent in the organization of our Church, and minutely detailing every step of the struggle for the Episcopate in the free and unrestrained language of friendly communications,—have, besides, the original Minutes of our early Conventions, both General and Diocesan,—the autograph letters of the Archbishops and Bishops of the Mother Church, the celebrated letter of Dr. Coke to Bishop White, touching the union of the Methodists with the Church, and other papers of scarcely less moment. The printed volumes comprise the early printed Journals gathered by the wise forethought of Bishop White and preserving documents of great value and importance, in many cases unique. Together with these, are volumes of controversial, historical, and statistical pamphlets, throwing light upon many of the vexed questions of our own time, and furnishing an admirable nucleus for a complete and authoritative collection of Archives, the preservation and continuation of which should be at once undertaken, if for no other reason, for the praise and in memory of our fathers."

The committee called attention to the proposed issue "in fitting style and manner" of the manuscript *Annals of the American Colonial Church*, to be based on the archives. It was hoped that there would be subscribers enough to ensure the success of the plan. (It was in pursuance of this project that Perry published his collections of documents bearing on the Church in Virginia, Pennsylvania, Massachu-

setts, Maryland, and Delaware). In closing its report, the committee place on record "their sense of the Church's lasting obligation to its late Historiographer, the Rev. Francis Lister Hawks, D. D., LL. D., whose labors in collecting and preserving these manuscripts and documents have saved to the Church the material for her future historian's use. The collection itself may well bear his honored name, and go down to posterity as an attestation of his labors and success in circulating the Church's history."

Another important item brought to the notice of the 1868 General Convention was the chronological list of ordinations, begun by the late Bishop George Burgess of Maine. It was also voted by both houses that "a permanent Commission of Bishops, Clergymen and Laymen be created, composed of two of each order, who shall have power to control the archives and other articles belonging to the General Convention, and who may direct their removal and provide for their safe keeping, to whom in the interval between the sessions of the General Convention application may be made for copies of important documents, and who shall have power to edit and publish any manuscript without charges to this body, and, in case of the death or resignation of the Registrar or of his disability, shall appoint a successor until the next meeting of the General Convention." Thus the Archive Commission had its birth.¹⁹

The reprinting of the Journals again came up before the General Convention of 1871; finally with success. The committee reported "that an effort is now on foot, which, if it meets with the support it deserves, will secure the accomplishment of the end desired in the appointment of the Committee. They, therefore, commend to the attention and patronage of the members of the Church the proposed republication of the Journals of the first half-century of our ecclesiastical legislation, which, with the volume of documents and unpublished MSS. from the archives of the Church, which is to be issued in connection with this reprint, will place within the reach of every inquirer the facts of our history, and the opinions of those whose exertions secured, under God, our independence, and our present organization."²⁰

At the same Convention, the Commission on Archives reported the gradual completion of the sets of Journals and important Church pamphlets. "Large and valuable additions to these files have been made by members of the families of the late Bishops Cobbs of Alabama, and Burgess, of Maine; the venerable Dr. Benjamin Dorr, of Pennsyl-

¹⁹*General Convention Journal, 1868: (Hawks and his collection) pp. 227ff.; (Perry's election as Historiographer) pp. 116, 117, 230, 239; (Burgess and the creation of the Archive Commission) pp. 79, 214-215, 166-167, 216.*

²⁰*General Convention Journal, 1871, pp. 194-195, 354-355.*

vania, many years rector of the historic Christ Church, Philadelphia; the Rev. George Taft, D. D., long an honored presbyter of Rhode Island; and the Rev. D. L. B. Goodwin, whose name and labors are inseparably connected with the work of Church extension in that Diocese. The Rev. Samuel Chase, D. D., of Illinois, has largely added to the files of Convention Journals." There was a suggestion that "some fire-proof building, in a central location, should be provided, where, under the constant oversight of a suitable custodian," the records should be "open to the inspection of the curious, and thus made available in the elucidation of our history. Till this is secured, the tenure by which we hold our present possessions is but slight." The Historiographer appended a list of diocesan convention journals wanted to complete the sets in the General Convention Archives.²¹

In 1874, the long-desired reprint of the Journals of the General Conventions appeared, edited by Doctor William Stevens Perry, and published in three volumes by the Claremont Manufacturing Company, Claremont, New Hampshire. After the failure of efforts reaching back for nearly forty years, the work was at length accomplished. The third volume contained a collection of important documents illustrating the formative period of independent American Church history, besides an index of the Journals. These documents were chosen from the manuscripts of the General Convention, largely gathered together and arranged by Doctor Hawks. Bishop Perry paid a high tribute to "his late instructor and friend." In the preface, he said:

"It is with grateful memory of hours of mutual investigation and study of this portion of our Church Annals, that the editor records, in connection with the issue of this reprint, his obligations to one whose name the American Church may not wisely suffer to pass from remembrance. To the Rev. Dr. Hawks the American Church will ever owe the means for the elucidation of her colonial and her constitutional history up to the period of his too early death. And now that he has passed away from earth, it is to his sacred memory that these volumes, undertaken with his encouragement and advice, and attesting on every page his interest and care, are most affectionately and reverently inscribed."²²

The Joint Committee on the Republican of the Early Journals, dating its first appointment back to the Convention of 1859, having republished the Journals from 1785 to 1835, begged to be discharged. The editorial labours, extending over a period of twelve years, in the preparation of this reprint, had been performed without cost to the Con-

²¹*Ibid.*, pp. 612-614.

²²Perry, ed.: *Journals of General Conventions . . . 1785-1835*, I., 10.

vention or to the Church; and the addition of the third volume, containing the historical papers prepared from the manuscripts in the archives, had been designed to further the sale of the reprint. On motion, the committee was discharged, and the Convention of 1874 expressed its satisfaction at the successful completion of the task.²³

The General Convention of 1886 returned thanks to the Trustees of the General Theological Seminary "for their generous action 'in setting apart a room in that Institution for the uses of the Convention;'" and resolved "that such room be accepted as a depository of the archives of the Convention, and the use of the Secretaries of the two Houses." It was further resolved, that the Secretaries take measures "to have all books, documents, and papers belonging to the General Convention, removed to the room thus accepted, and . . . assume the care and custody thereof, until these treasures can be formally put into the keeping of the Registrar of the General Convention."²⁴ Three years later, however, it was reported that it had not been possible to carry this order into effect.²⁵ In 1892, it was requested that the authorities of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society provide a suitable room or rooms, with a fire-proof safe, in the Church Missions House for the preservation of the archives.²⁶

The Report of the Joint Commission on Archives, which forms Appendix XVII. of the Journal of the General Convention of 1895 (pp. 705-710), was written by Doctor Perry, and gives an interesting summary of the development of the Church's documentary collection. It traces the preservation of this material to Bishop William White, the first Presiding Bishop of the American Church, who "during a ministerial life of more than three-score years . . . laid aside for reference and preservation the data of our Church's annals." These collections were placed in the hands of Doctor Hawks. In 1822 Bishop White deposited with the Committee of the General Convention for collecting Journals "the original record of the first steps taken for the organising of the Episcopal Church throughout the Union." The correspondence with the Reverend Alexander Murray, formerly a missionary in Pennsylvania, transmitting information which "had an effect on the proceedings of the General Convention of 1785," was also donated by Bishop White. The only entire collection of the original Journals of the General Convention known by him to be in existence, the Bishop also presented to the Convention, as well as many diocesan journals.

In this summary, Doctor Perry called attention to the services of

²³*General Convention Journal*, 1874, pp. 173-174.

²⁴*General Convention Journal*, 1886, pp. 78, 271.

²⁵*General Convention Journal*, 1889, p. 312.

²⁶*General Convention Journal*, 1892, pp. 33, 35, 76, 387.

the Reverend Edward Rutledge, of South Carolina, in connection with gathering material for the Church's history. Doctor Hawks, he said, had begun, with the active co-operation of Mr. Rutledge an effort "for the gathering and preservation of these even then rapidly disappearing pamphlets and papers which related to the story of the American Church. After five years of labour, in the midst of which the Rev. Mr. Rutledge died after having secured a wide reputation as a successful and even brilliant writer on general ecclesiastical history, Dr. Hawks prayed the General Convention for the appointment of 'a collector and conservator of all books, pamphlets, documents, manuscripts, etc., which are connected with or throw light upon the proceedings of the Church in any part of our country, either in past or present time.' " After enumerating much with which the reader is already familiar, Doctor Perry regretted "that the words of Dr. Hawks" in his plea for complete sets of the Church's periodicals and newspapers "did not receive the attention they so well deserved." At that time, it would have been comparatively easy to secure perfect files of the same. Upon Doctor Hawks' death, Doctor Perry applied to the family of the deceased Conservator for the collection of manuscripts, books, papers, and pamphlets. Everything which he was able to describe and prove to be the Church's property was now in process of packing and arrangement, so as to be placed in the fitting room secured for the same in the Church Missions House in New York. Unfortunately there had been a fire, "traces of which appear on the volumes which were packed with the remains of the same noble library when Dr. Hawks was proposing a removal." One volume, previously copied, was destroyed.

In 1898, the Reverend Doctor Samuel Hart was elected Historiographer to succeed Bishop Perry, who had died. Doctor Hart was born at Saybrook, Connecticut, June 4th, 1845. He was educated at Trinity College and the Berkeley Divinity School. From 1868 to 1899, he taught at Trinity College, being at one time tutor, next assistant professor and later full professor of mathematics, and then professor of Latin there. In 1899, he became vice-dean and professor of doctrinal theology in Berkeley Divinity School, having declined the proffered bishopric of Vermont in 1893. Since 1886, he had been custodian of the Standard Book of Common Prayer; in 1892, he became Secretary of the House of Bishops. Later he was dean of his Divinity School. He was the author of several historical addresses, the editor of the Satires of Juvenal and Persius, and a profound student of the Book of Common Prayer. His death occurred February 25th, 1917.

The new Historiographer reported in 1898 that, through the liberality of Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan, a member of the Commission on

Archives, there had been purchased from the executors of the late Bishop Perry and added to the Archives of the General Convention, a collection of manuscripts and a few printed papers of great historical value. These included about two hundred and fifty letters to Bishop Parker of Boston from various correspondents in America and England, about thirty letters written by the Reverend Mr. Bailey at Pownalborough and Annapolis Royal from 1777 to 1802, a draft of Articles of Religion apparently for the Proposed Book, a memorial addressed by Provost William Smith of Philadelphia on the occasion of his indictment and arrest, various memorials to the S. P. G., some manuscript sermons by Samuel Auchmuty of Trinity Church, New York, and about one hundred and twenty letters to Bishop John Henry Hopkins, some letters written to Doctor Hawks, and a large collection of papers relating to the ecclesiastical and civil history of Boxford, Massachusetts.²⁷ In 1901, Doctor Hart reported additional acquisitions, through Mr. Morgan's liberality. These included a bound volume of sermons by the late Bishop Inglis, a collection of about two thousand American Church pamphlets, a collection of sermons preached at the consecration of American bishops made by the late Mr. Richard Sill of New York City and his son, the Reverend Frederick S. Sill, D. D., a set of original Journals of the General Convention (1785-1865) with pastoral letters (1808-1883) and the Digest of Canons of ten different dates, the original journals of New York from 1785 to 1881, a collection of General Convention Sermons, and the manuscript minute book of the "Primitive Episcopal Church," containing records of meetings at London in 1831 and 1832 and at Philadelphia in 1836.²⁸ The Commission on Archives reported in 1910 that an offer had been made to provide for the editing and publication of the manuscript collections in the Archives without expense to the Convention; and two members of the Commission—J. Pierpont Morgan and Doctor Samuel Hart—had been appointed a sub-committee with power to undertake and execute this work. A beginning had been made with the papers of Bishop John Henry Hobart, and the material for three volumes, carefully edited, was ready for the printer.²⁹ In 1913, it was noted with deep regret that Mr. Morgan had passed away; this was a heavy loss to the Commission on Archives. In the meantime, six handsome volumes of the Hobart correspondence had been printed; copies had been sent to the dioceses and to public libraries. There still remained material practically ready for the press, sufficient for four more volumes. "The work accomplished is a memorial

²⁷*General Convention Journal*, 1898: (*Hart's election*) pp. 83, 298; (*report*) p. 531.

²⁸*General Convention Journal*, 1901, pp. 477-478.

²⁹*General Convention Journal*, 1910, p. 487.

to the wisdom and interest and liberality of the late J. Pierpont Morgan, LL. D., whose name may now be mentioned in the record of that for which he made so full provision."³⁰

Doctor Hart was succeeded as Historiographer by the Reverend Edward Clowes Chorley, D. D., rector of St. Philip's Church, Garrison, New York. Doctor Chorley was elected to the office by the General Convention of 1919; and continues to serve.

In 1922, the Joint Commission on Archives reported to the General Convention that the safe at the Church Mission House, 281 Fourth Avenue, New York, where the Archives were kept, had been examined; it was found that the documents were in great disorder. "Important documents were wrapped in unlabeled packages without regard to date or subject matter." Under the direction of the commission, the Reverend Edwin B. Rice of the Mission House staff had examined every individual package and document in order to obtain information as to what the safe contained. "The contents of the safe are now in good order and by careful arrangement and labeling may easily be consulted. Metal boxes have been secured for the safe and permanent keeping of the Archives, which is a great improvement upon the disorderly methods which were found." It was recorded that there are very important historical documents in possession of the Church Historical Society, a national organization whose headquarters are in Philadelphia, the General Theological Seminary, and the Whittingham Library in Baltimore; and that several of the dioceses possess documents of real interest and value in the general history of the Church. The commission felt that some action should be taken by which such important records might be placed within the knowledge of the interested public. The safe being inadequate, it was resolved "that a proper safe be built which is fire and burglar-proof, possibly in the cellar of the Church Missions House," and that some person be given authority by the General Convention "to be known officially as the Custodian of Archives, who shall be responsible for the proper placing, recording and safe-keeping of the Archives, such Custodian to be appointed by the Presiding Bishop and Council."³¹ These resolutions were referred to the Presiding Bishop and Council.

At the regular meeting of the Presiding Bishop and Council, held in December, 1922, the Reverend Edwin B. Rice, Registrar of the National Council, was appointed Custodian of Archives. Mr. Rice, who had already accomplished much in arranging and classifying this valuable material, went ahead with his duties industriously and conscientiously. The seventeen volumes of correspondence and other docu-

³⁰*General Convention Journal*, 1913, p. 439.

³¹*General Convention Journal*, 1922, p. 683.

ments, which Doctor Hawks had secured in England—one volume having been destroyed, had never been tabulated; and it would have required hours of research if anyone had sought for particular information. In order to rectify this omission, the Custodian undertook the task of examining each letter—the name of the writer, to whom written, and the date—and recording the same in a catalogue, arranged in alphabetical order. In 1895, Bishop William Stevens Perry had published his *Episcopate in America*, containing photographs of the bishops of the American Church down to Bishop Millspaugh inclusive. Mr. Rice completed the collection, taking it up where Bishop Perry had left off. A large number of autographs of bishops had also been collected and deposited with the other Archives of the Church. It was recommended by the Custodian, in 1925, that he be authorised to secure glass doors, locks, and keys for the cases containing this material, at a cost not to exceed five hundred dollars. The matter was referred to the favourable consideration of the National Council.³²

Soon afterwards, the New York Historical Society offered to take a portion of the Archives of the General Convention under its protection, subject to the orders of the Church. The Society proposed not only to afford safe-keeping for these treasures, but also to tabulate and index the same and to repair the torn documents where needed. At the 1928 General Convention, it was resolved that the Joint Commission on the Custody of the Archives be empowered to make such arrangements with that Society, or some other appropriate body, for their preservation as the committee might approve, "keeping them in a safe and accessible place where access may be had to them for the purpose of examination and study;" further, that the committee be empowered to consider "what permanent arrangement can be made for the permanent custody of the Archives of the Church, and to act in consultation with the National Council."³³ The Archives were turned over to the Society under terms which insure their protection and accessibility.

An important step was taken at the General Convention of 1931; it was then that Doctor Chorley suggested that the time was ripe for the publication of a quarterly Historical Magazine dealing with our own Church history. "Such magazines are published by other Churches," he urged; and such a publication "would be warmly welcomed by those who are in charge of the larger college libraries, including the Library of Congress." It was resolved that a Joint Commission be appointed to consider the desirability and feasibility of publishing the same.³⁴ The first number of the *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal*

³²*General Convention Journal*, 1925, pp. 567-570.

³³*General Convention Journal*, 1928, p. 292.

³⁴*General Convention Journal*, 1931, pp. 261, 253, 266.

Church was published in March, 1932; Doctor Chorley was editor-in-chief. It has steadily grown in reputation both at home and abroad.

All credit is due those men who recognised the importance of preserving the Church's rich historic lore. We suspect that they had their periods of discouragement; they must have felt that they were waging a solitary battle. Doubtless their brethren felt that such efforts were futile at a time when the country was largely unknown and sparsely settled. Why should men devote their energies to garnering the records of the past when there was so much to do and so little accomplished? But Bishop White, Francis Lister Hawks, and other like-minded individuals realised that a strong and stable Church must have its roots solidly planted in the ground; they knew that unborn generations would gain strength and inspiration from the record of early struggles; they recognized the fact that the historian's ideal is something very real, since it involves men's sense of power and since it furnishes an incentive to move forward.

A fine beginning has been made; nevertheless, there is much around us and ahead. The casual occurrence of to-day may be seized upon with avidity by the historian of tomorrow. Diaries, letters, programs, and local periodicals are the material out of which the student will frame his picture of the life we live and the thoughts we think. The preservation of its records is not solely the duty and responsibility of the general Church: every diocese, every parish, every mission should endeavour to keep whatever may be of significance to the future. This is an obligation we owe to posterity.

DAVID GRIFFITH

1742-1789

FIRST BISHOP-ELECT OF VIRGINIA

By G. MacLaren Brydon

DAVID GRIFFITH was born in the city of New York in the year 1742. His father was a native of Wales who had come to America in early life, and his mother was Sarah Winslow, of New York. After schooling in New York he went to England for further study, which culminated in a degree in medicine granted in London in 1762. Returning to America, he began the practise of his profession in the interior of the colony of New York, where he married, on October 21, 1766, Hannah, the daughter of William Colville, of New York city. There were eight children of this union, and his widow survived him until her death in Alexandria, in 1811.¹

Having determined to enter the ministry, he completed the necessary studies and went again to England, this time for his ordination. He was ordained deacon on August 19, and priest on August 24, 1770,² by Richard Terrick, bishop of London, and, on August 19, 1770, received that bishop's license to serve in New York.³ He received the degree of Doctor of Divinity from the University of Pennsylvania on July 3, 1786.

Our knowledge of his first efforts in the ministry come from records of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. Through the courtesy of the secretary of that Society these are here given in full. The first is his Title to Orders, the topographical error being made therein of placing Gloster and Waterford in Pennsylvania instead of New Jersey.

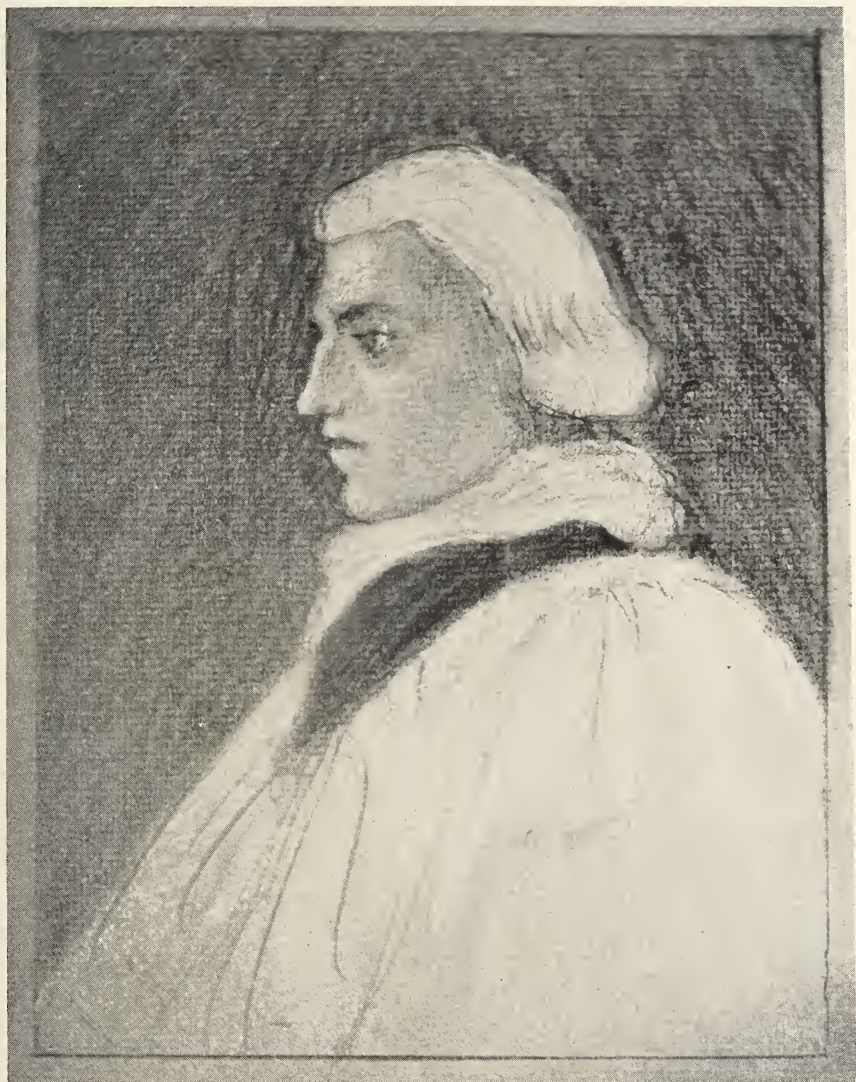
On the recommendation of the Rev. Jonathan Odell, of Burlington, at a General Meeting of the Society held on August 17, 1770, it was

Resolved, that Mr David Griffith be recommended to the Lord Bishop of London for Holy Orders: which if he shall obtain, that he be then appointed Missionary to Gloster and

¹*Sprague, Annals of the American Episcopal Pulpit*, p. 70.

²*Virginia Seminary Magazine*, Vol. IV, pp. 20-21, November, 1890.

³*Sprague*, 70. *Collections of the Protestant Episcopal Historical Society for* 1851, p. 116.



*Courtesy of the Church Historical Society, Philadelphia. From a Sketch Copied
from a Portrait Window in Christ Church, Philadelphia*

DAVID GRIFFITH
First Bishop-elect of Virginia
1742-1789

Waterford in Pennsylvania with a salary of £40 a year to commence from Midsummer 1770.

Dr. Wm. Smith from Philadelphia, writing to the Soc'y, Jan. 14, 1771, put the case of Mr. Griffith thus:—

Extract

. . . I had several Things to write to you, but must take another opportunity. What is of most Consequence to inform you of is—that M^r Griffith, who was appointed for Gloster Mission New Jersey, has deserted it, after staying about a Month with them. He consulted none of us in this hasty Step, but took his Leave of the People last Sunday but one. D^r Peters, M^r Duche and myself endeavoured to persuade him to stay & wait the Society's Pleasure for a Removal. But he insisted on returning to New York, saying he only accepted of Gloster Mission by Way of Title, to get ordained by; but not to stay with them. He complained that the People would do nothing for Him; but in this he does them great Injustice. They had subscribed £48 Pennsylvania Money, about £38 Ster; they offered to give Bond for the Payment of it, and also to hire a house and small Glebe. This was not only as much as they are really able to give, & more than is given by any Mission in this Province, except one or two. It is true the Waterford Congregation did this without the Town of Gloster, as in the latter there never were more than 5 or 6 Church-families; so that M^r Griffith may have to say that one of his Congregations would do Nothing. The Truth is, he did not stay to try whether they would do any Thing; and I have Reason to think that the Cause of his not settling there was his intending to practise Physic, and his not finding that it would answer any valuable Purpose in the Gloster Mission.

I do not blame M^r Griffith for wishing a Support for his Family, and tho' Gloster Mission be a Place of very considerable Importance, & what I hope the Society will still provide for, yet I think it is only a Place for a Man that has no Family to make a Beginning with, & then I think it might soon be brought to something. But what I think wrong in M^r Griffith was his abrupt Departure, which disgusts the People so much, that we find it difficult to keep the Methodist followers of Wesley (who swarm over here) from settling among them and drawing them off. I wish M^r Griffith may do well & be provided for, but he will not be acceptable any where near us, as he has shewn too much Levity in what he has done in Gloster.

This letter was read at a General Meeting held on March 15, 1771 and it was resolved

that Mr Griffith be not employed for the future in the Society's service, unless he can clear up his conduct in deserting his mission.

DAVID GRIFFITH TO THE S. P. G.

New York 8th Feb^y 1771

Rev^d Sir

I have the satisfaction, through you, to inform the respectable Society of my safe Arrival at this Place on the 10th Nov^r last, after a tedious & disagreeable Passage.

After remaining here a fortnight with my Family I proceeded to the Mission to which I had been appointed, where I found things to fall vastly short of what I expected & cou'd have desired. The Number of the Congregation at Waterford, (the Principal part of the Mission) has considerably diminished since the Death of Mr Evans, It consisting at present of not more than 130 Persons, & they are so intermarried & otherwise connected with the Quakers (the most numerous & only wealthy People in that part of the Country) that their affection for the Church is thereby greatly cooled: At Gloucester there are not more than three families that continue stedfast in the Interest of the Established Church, the rest having refused to contribute at all towards its support: This revolt seems to have been occasioned by the frequent visits of the Late Mr Evans's Father & other Methodist Preachers among them.

You may remember Sir that when I had last the pleasure of seeing you, you told me, the Society expected the People of the Mission would make me the same allowance as they did Mr Evans, which was £72 Currency Pr Ann. instead of which £40 Curr^y Pr Ann. is the utmost that they can raise at Present, & that upon a very precarious footing, & I am entirely disappointed of the House & Glebe which I was made to expect from the People of the Gloucester Division; so that the whole salary (with the Society's Bounty included) will amount to about £105 Curr^y Pr Ann. out of which (when the Expences of House rent, Firing, &c at the most moderate Computation, are allowed for,) there will remain only £55 or £60 Curr^y Pr Ann. for the Support of a Family, & that in a Country where (on account of its Vicinity to Philadelphia) every kind of Provision is as dear, & every Article of Clothing rather dearer than in that City. After a stay of 5 or 6 weeks in the Mission, & informing myself with its state, I made known my situation & the Circumstances of it to Doc^r Smith, Doc^r Peters, & Mr Duché, who were of Opinion that it wou'd be impossible for me to support my Family there upon so scanty an allowance, & that my continuing there must inevitably be attended with distress. The former indeed, at first, urg'd the necessity of my continuing there, at least for some time, lest, upon my quitting it, some dissenting sect might get a footing there: But upon a

representation of the Case, he acknowledged it to be his opinion that (to make use of his own words) *the salary was not sufficient to keep Body & Soul together*, & consented to join with the other two Gentlemen in their representing the Matter to the Society. I have therefore, with the Concurrence & advice of the above named Gentlemen quitted the Mission, to which (Principally through your kindness) the Society have been pleased to appoint me, & that for this obvious reason,—that I could not at any rate be supported in it.

I am not ignorant, that in thus acting without the Consent of the Society, I have transgressed one of their Rules; But believe me (worthy Sir) when I assure you that it is neither through Contempt, nor want of respect for that Venerable Body, that I have ventured to act without their assent,—But from Motives of Humanity, & a tender regard for the welfare of those who are dependent upon me for their Subsistence.

I at first had thoughts of Continuing in the Mission till I should receive the Society's Answer, but was told by Mr Duché & others—my Friends, that if the People got the least hint of my design of leaving them, I might expect to support myself among them without any of their assistance; which I am not at Present in Circumstances to do. Besides, the expence of removing my Family and Furniture an hundred Miles by land, & to a Place where I knew I could not possibly continue any length of time was another Reason that induc'd me to quit the Mission immediately: I submit myself therefore to the Clemency of that Body, who I believe to be very far from desiring the distress of any Person in their Service; & it may not perhaps be inefficacious in alleviating their Censure if it be remembered that I was not recommended to the Society for that Mission particularly,—that I was under no kind of Engagement with the People of Gloucester & Waterford; & that I was appointed to the Mission, merely because there was no other Vacancy at that time in the Society's Service.

During my Continuance in the Mission, I baptiz'd one infant, & buried one adult: I was to have administered the Sacrament on Christmas Day, but through a deficiency of Communicants, I was oblig'd to omit it. The People of Waterford were very constant in their attendance on divine Service, but through a want of Prayer Books (there being not more than 5 or 6 made use of in the Church) very few were able to join in the Responses & Psalms.

Since my return from Gloucester County, I have (with the advice of Doc^r Cooper, Doc^r Auchmuty & the other Clergy of New York) visited & shall continue to visit & preach among (until I am fixed in some Mission) every two or three Weeks, a very respectable set of People in the County of Morris, in the Province of New Jersey, about 30 miles from New York; they live at some distance from each other, but are desirous of uniting in two or three, or more Congregations, & of having a

Missionary among them; but they seem to apprehend that their Numbers are as yet too few to make application for one.

I shou'd not have fail'd to have inform'd the Society sooner with my Situation, but the Communication between this Country & Brittain is so impeded by the Inclemency of our American Winters, that since my return from Gloster I have not had, & as yet know not when I shall have an Opportunity of sending this.

I am (Rev^d & Worthy Sir)

Y^r most obd^t

& very humble Serv^t

David Griffith

This letter was read at a General Meeting of the Society held on May 17, 1771 and it was

Agreed in opinion, that M^r Griffith be informed, that the Society have received a very different account of the state of the mission of Gloucester and Waterford, than what He sends; that there appears, by a letter sent to the Society in October last, to have been a Bond given by those people, and lodged in the hands of D^r Smith of Philadelphia, for the payment of £50 Jersey money, equal to £35 sterling; making with the Society's allowance £75 sterling, besides a house, and 12 acres of glebe land, given in 1766; and that his letter has not cleared up his conduct in quitting his mission so abruptly.

Resolved to agree with the Committee.

It would be impossible at this date to attempt to judge between the young clergyman and the Venerable Society. At the distance of three thousand miles, and influenced by the opinion expressed by the Rev. Dr. William Smith, they thought he should have remained at his post. Upon his own investigation of the field, with the realization in mind of the needs of himself and those dependent upon him, and with the concurrence, as he thought, of Dr. Smith, as well as of other clergy in Philadelphia, he left the mission, and sought another opening. He found work, of a temporary character at least, in the vicinity of New York, and he seems to have won the favorable attention of the clergy of that city, as shown by the testimonial they gave him when he left.

He must have realized that having been dropped from the roll of missionaries of the S. P. G., it would be necessary to look elsewhere for a parish; and following the example of many another missionary of the Society, he looked to the colonies of Maryland and Virginia in which the Church was strongly established. It happened that his friend the Rev. Dr. Peters, rector of the United Churches of Christ and St. Peter's in Philadelphia had a very pleasant connection with Virginia through the marriage of Col. William Byrd, III, of Westover

to Mary Willing, of Philadelphia in 1761. To Virginia therefore the young clergyman went, bearing testimonials and letters of introduction. The clergy of New York gave him the following testimonial:⁴

City of New York.

The Reverend Mr. David Griffith, having signified to the clergy of the City aforesaid his Intention of taking a Tour to the Southward, and his desire of proper Testimonials of his character and behavior: We, therefore, Do Certify to all whom it May Concern, that the said Mr. Griffith has been personally known to us some years past, during which he has sustained the Character of a Gentleman and a Christian.

Upwards of a year ago he entered into Holy Orders. The Duties of his Function he has performed with great Zeal and Application.

He also appears to be Staunch and Loyal to our most gracious Sovereign—warmly attached to the present Government, and the interest of the Church of England as by Law established.

In Testimony hereof we have hereunto set our Hands this Eighth day of October, in the year 1771.

Samuel Auchmuty, D. D.

Rector of Trinity Church

Myles Cooper, LL. D.

President of King's College

Thomas B. Chandler, D. D.

Rector of St. John's Church, Elizabethtown.

John Ogilvie, D. D.

Assistant Minister of Trinity Church.

Charles Inglis, A. M.

Assistant Minister of Trinity Church.

Samuel Provoost, A. M.

Assistant Minister of Trinity Church

Under the law of Virginia a clergyman coming into the colony was required to present to the governor his certificates of ordination by a bishop living in England, and a certificate from the bishop of London that he had been licensed by him to serve in Virginia. In the case of ministers coming from other colonies instead of directly from the bishop of London, credentials were investigated with great care; the governor must be satisfied with the reasons given for coming from another colony before official permission could be given to hold a parish in Virginia.⁵ Dr. Griffith seems to have won without difficulty the

⁴*Virginia Seminary Magazine*, Vol. IV, pp. 21-22 (November, 1890).

⁵See letters on this subject from the governor of Virginia to the bishop of London in *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 231, et seq., and in *William and Mary Quarterly Magazine*, Second Series, Vol. 19, pp. 456, et seq.

favorable opinion of the governor as well as others and, following the usual course, his name was certified to the commissary and the vestries of vacant parishes. Within a short time he had been accepted by the vestry of Shelburne Parish, in Loudoun County as the minister of that parish.

In the meanwhile however, he had paid a visit to Col. Byrd, at Westover where he won the friendship of the two neighboring families of Byrds of Westover and Harrisons of Berkeley, as shown by their later attempts to secure him as their minister. Col. Byrd wrote the following letter to Dr. Peters.⁶

I was really rejoiced to receive a letter from you by Mr. Griffith. Be assured I shall ever show the strictest attention to your recommendations, & am glad to hear that gentleman has got a very good living tho' at a great distance from us. There was no vacancy near this place when he came; tho' I am in great hopes our Minister will be prevailed on soon to accept a sum of money to quit this parish. In that case we shall offer it to Mr. Griffith, for all our neighbours admire him exceedingly. He staid with me a fortnight, & preached twice in our Church & gave great satisfaction. (His beha)viour,⁷ my dear Sir, has done honour to those who wrote in his favour, & I make no doubt but he will be happy in this Country, as Clergymen of good character are nowhere better respected. Mr. Guillian I heard was an unhappy Man, he fell into a bad acquaintance here & was accused by a man who was more likely to commit the fault than himself. Mrs. Byrd joins me in an affectionate Compliments, we both pray for your happiness, as you have made us extremely so. She has almost determined me to go to Philadelphia, for she says your Conversation and example she is certain would guide us thro' a delightful path to Everlasting Bliss. Give us your Blessing my dear Friend & believe me she is as well as myself

Sr

Your Affectionate & Obliged H^{ble} Ser^t

W. Byrd

Westover, Jan^y 6, 1772.

Shelburne Parish was a new one, erected by the House of Burgesses in the year 1770, and Dr. Griffith was its first minister. It covered the larger part of Loudoun County, lying on the eastern slope of the Blue Ridge Mountains, with the Potomac River as its northern boundary. The western section of the parish was inhabited largely by Ger-

⁶*Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. XXXVIII, p. 354.

⁷The manuscript at this point is undecipherable, but the letters here inserted seem to be obvious from the context. This is however the present writer's guess as to the lost letters: the copyist who prepared the letter for publication in the *Virginia Magazine* made the utterly improbable guess "(Lelia)viour".

mans, "His Majesty's foreign Protestant subjects", who had their own churches and ministers, and there were also well established congregations of Quakers and Baptists within its bounds. Following the rule of the Virginia Establishment these congregations of dissenters were not molested, and the parish church and chapels of ease were erected in those sections of the parish in which the majority of the people belonged to the Established Church.⁸ The parish was remote from the centers of wealth and culture in the eastern and southern sections of the colony. For that reason, perhaps, he found in it a greater opportunity to combine the practise of medicine with his duties as rector of the parish than he would have found in a more favored section of the colony.

The young minister found himself at once in the midst of a furore of political unrest and resentment against the British Parliament that extended throughout the whole colony. Notwithstanding the staunch loyalty to his most gracious sovereign which was stressed by the clergy of New York in their testimonial, he very wholeheartedly accepted the distinction prevalent throughout Virginia of continued loyalty to their King while they resisted bitterly the policy of Parliament toward the American colonies. The records of Dr. Griffith's pastoral work seem to be hopelessly lost, but he appears as taking an active part in the political movements that led eventually to the Declaration of Independence. When, in May, 1774, the Virginia House of Burgesses ordered that the day appointed by Parliament for the closing of the Port of Boston, June 1st, be observed as a day of fasting and prayer and divine service in every parish throughout the colony, David Griffith appears to have been in Williamsburg, and was one of the thirteen clergy-men who signed the "Association" entered into by the members of the House of Burgesses and others, whereby they bound themselves not to import anything from Great Britain until Parliament had changed its policy toward the American colonies.⁹ He was in Williamsburg again in December, 1775, during the meeting of the Virginia Convention of that month, and on December 31 he preached a sermon before that body for which they extended to him their formal thanks, and ordered that the sermon be published at public expense for distribution throughout the colony.¹⁰ This was followed very shortly by his appointment as chaplain of the Third Regiment of Virginia Militia.

⁸As an illustration of this rule see the action of the vestry of St. Patrick's Parish, Prince Edward County, in 1760: "whereas the upper Church is situated among the Dissenters, the Vestry think that service should cease there from this time" (Charles E. Burrell, *History of Prince Edward County*, page 242.)

⁹Journal House of Burgesses, 1773-74, xiv and under date of May 26, 1774. *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, XLI, 140.

¹⁰Clarke and Force, "American Archives", Fourth Series, Vol. IV, Column 102.

The Established Church in Virginia took a far larger part in the Revolution than was true, or was possible, in the colonies to the north. The great majority of her clergy were native-born Americans whose interests were centered in their home land. For that reason many of her clergy were active leaders in their respective parishes in the policy of resistance to Parliament. In twenty of the sixty counties in the colony the minister of the parish, or some resident minister of the Church, was elected by the people as a member of the county Committee of Safety. After hostilities opened all of the army chaplains except one, a German Lutheran minister for a German-speaking regiment, were ministers of the Established Church, and four ministers saw active service as officers other than chaplains. Less than one fifth of all the clergy of the Church in the Commonwealth were counted as Tories; and these were permitted either to return to England or to live quietly without molestation in their own homes.¹¹ There was only one instance of ill-treatment by hoodlums, and this was publicly condemned.¹²

Dr. Griffith had already been serving for two months as surgeon of the Prince William Battalion when on February 28, 1776, he was appointed chaplain of the Third Virginia Regiment.¹³ Within a very short time his regiment was mustered into the Continental Line, and he received the appointment of the Continental Congress as chaplain and surgeon.¹⁴

Meanwhile Dr. Griffith was having difficulty in securing a curate to take charge of his pastoral work during his absence from the parish. Writing from the camp of the Third Regiment near Williamsburg in June, 1776, to his friend Major Levin Powell, after telling of military affairs he continued,

"I forgot to mention to you when I had the pleasure of seeing you, the great difficulty I had of getting a Curate for Shelburne Parish. My friends to the Northward inform me there is none to be had. Mr. Kenner¹⁵ will not go to Loudoun, tho' I offered him all the Salary and Perquisites, and I believe

¹¹*Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, XLI, pp. 12-15

¹²For the ill-treatment of the Rev. Christopher MacRae, see Meade, *Old Churches, Ministers and Families in Virginia*, Vol. II, p. 36 and footnote.

¹³*Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, XXVIII, 249. "Bounty Warrants, David Griffith, 1783" in *Virginia State Library*.

¹⁴The resolution adopted by the Continental Congress was as follows: "Resolved, That Doctor David Griffith be appointed to the stations of Chaplain and Surgeon in the Third Virginia Regiment, he being a person of uncommon merit, & there being very few Surgeons of abilities who will enter the Army in that State. This appointment not to be drawn into precedent. That Mr. Griffith draw pay on both capacities for the time he has served in the Regiment. (Copied from a certified copy of the resolution in "Bounty Warrants, David Griffith," 1783, in the *Virginia State Library*.)

¹⁵Rev. Rodham Kenner, of Fauquier County, who seems to have been non-parochial at that time.

there is hardly another Clergyman in the Colony without a Parish. I cannot hear of such a man here. I should be glad if you would make it known to the Vestry that if they can get a man who will be acceptable to the people, who will act in my absence, I will readily give him the whole Salary and Perquisites for such time."¹⁶

His letters to his friend Major (afterwards Colonel) Powell of Loudoun County, and to Mrs. Griffith, show an interesting picture of the Continental Army.

Philadelphia, 8th Dec., 1776.

Dear Major: I arrived here yesterday from the Army, which I left at Princetown. I am here for the purpose of seeing the sick put into Hospital, and to send the well back to the Army. Indeed, Major, we have much need of a speedy reinforcement. I am much afraid we shall not have it in time to prevent the destruction of American affairs.

When I left the Army two days ago, things wore a tolerable aspect, and our troops were again advancing, but the Enemy have since been strongly reinforced. Genl. Howe has put himself at their head and has come on so rapidly that Genl. Washington was obliged to quit Trenton yesterday evening and crossed the Delaware with his whole army. Genl. Lee has about 5,000 men with him, but has not yet joined the main army. Whether that can now be effected is uncertain, the River is now between them, and Lee is now much exposed to the whole force of the Enemy. Everything here wears the aspect of despondency. . . . A strange consternation seems to have seized everybody in this country. A universal dissatisfaction prevails, and everybody is furnished with an excuse for declining the publick service. . . .

General Washington has not, at this time, more than 4,500 effective men with him, exclusive of what Militia may have joined him. Could a junction of the whole be brought about, he would have a respectable force, but I am much afraid our worthy General will be left a sacrifice to the stupidity and baseness of . . . politicians. . . .

It is thought that Genl. Howe aims at this place. If he pushes on briskly he will get possession of it without much difficulty. Gen. Washington cannot prevent it, and the Inhabitants will not. You may conceive what will be the consequence should it fall into the Enemy's hands.

I am sorry that I have it not in my power to communicate intelligence that would be more agreeable, but the present prospect is very gloomy, and I think nothing but the most signal interposition of Providence can save our country from

¹⁶*Biographical Sketch and Correspondence of Col. Levin Powell*, pp. 39-40. By Robert C. Powell, M. D. Alexandria, 1877.

destruction. That the Sovereign Ruler of Events will stretch out His arm for its protection, is the fervent prayer of
Your affectionate humble Servt,

D. Griffiths.

To Major Leven Powell,^a

Philadelphia, 27th Dec. 1776.

Dear Major: The inclosed handbills will inform you of an event which now gladdens the hearts of all Friends of their country in this Town. 'Tis part of a letter from Col. Biddle, D. Q. M. Gen. to Genl. Mifflin. He was present at the transaction, and at the time of writing the Letter, was at Newtown, in Pennsylvania, providing Quarters for the Prisoners he mentions. The Prisoners were with him. The Expedition was conducted by Gen. Washington, in person, at the head of 4,000 men. The Virginia Troops, I believe, were all there. They crossed over the evening before, 4 miles above Trenton, and attacked them very early in the morning. It Rained, Snowed and Blowed excessively, but our People were so situated as to have it on their Backs.

General Washington's design was a very grand one and as well contrived for the Destruction of the Enemy's army as anything that can be conceived. It was intended that at the time he crossed the River with his Division, (the Enemy being cantoned in several villages in Jersey and near the River,) Gen. Ewing with his Brigade should cross the Delaware at Trenton, to intercept their Retreat, and Col. Cadwallader, with the Philadelphia Militia, was to cross the River 12 miles below Trenton, attack the Parties posted near Burlington, and after joining the other Divisions of the army, the whole was to march against the Enemy and attack them divided in their Cantonments. A part only, has been executed as yet. There was so much ice at the Falls of Delaware and below it yesterday morning that neither Ewing nor Cadwallader with their troops could cross. Genl. Washington with his division, is returned into Pennsylvania.

The whole design is not yet abandoned. Genl. Mifflin, with 2,000 Troops from this place, and the Militia of this town under Cadwallader, making in all about 4,000, are to cross the River at Bristol and make an incursion into the Jerseys. . . . Gen. Mifflin sets off tomorrow.

The affair has given new life and spirits to the cause, and has lowered the Crests of the Tories in this Place, who looked upon the matter as settled, and were hourly expecting the King's Troops to arrive without molestation. Things begin to wear a better aspect, Major, than when I wrote you last, . . .

General Washington's Army is now become respectable. He has between 12,000 and 15,000 men and is growing stronger daily. Gen. Mifflin came to town last night from the back counties of this Province, where he has been to rouse the Peo-

^a*Biography and Correspondence of Col. Leven Powell, pp. 70-71.*

ple. He tells me that there is a Virtuous Disposition in the People, but they have been discouraged by People of fortune and influence, and that their Officers have been backward. They are, however, now coming down pretty generally; this good news, I think, will hurry and encourage them.

Generals Heath and McDougal are in New Jersey with 2,500 men. They have retaken at Hackinsack, most of the stores lost at Fort Lee, and have made prisoners many Tories who had taken arms in favor of the King.

The state of things in the New England Colonies, I mentioned in my last. The account I gave of them is pretty well confirmed.

We are made to believe that we are to have a reinforcement of 3,000 men from Virginia. Is this true? and when will they be here? For, tho' our fears are a little quieted for the present, yet we have much reason to wish for succour. Militia are precarious as to the time of their stay, and the time of some of the Continental Troops, and some flying Camp men will expire on New Years Day. The whole may amount to about 3,000 men.

I am sorry to hear of Col. Peyton's prodigious loss by disease, and of your own. I hope the cold weather will put an end to so fatal a Malady.

You will please remember me affectionately to all your good neighbors, and believe me,

Very Sincerely Yours,
D. Griffith.

Fitzgerald is made Aide de Camp to Gen. Washington in the room of Col. Carey of Maryland, and Poor Hendricks lies very ill in the neighborhood of the Army.
To Major Leven Powell.^b

Philada. 14th Sept. 77

Shortly after the Battle of Brandywine he wrote to Mrs. Griffith:

My dearest Hannah

Fame will have informed you by this time that we have had a Battle . . . tho' unfortunate, it will, by no means, be so ruinous as report & the tongues of Tories will make it. We were repulsed & lost Ground, but our Enemy purchased it dearly. Their loss is very considerable by all Accts. Ours is not so great as might be expected. In my next I shall be able to inform you more particularly. Our Regt. suffered more than any in the Line & acquired greater Glory. We lost upwards of 40 men killed and wounded. Three Officers are killed & 4 wounded, one, I fear, mortally. The Officers of ours killed are Capt. Chilton, Lieut. Apollos Cooper, Bob Peyton, Lieut. White shot thro the Belly. Capt. Briscoe, Lieut. Mercer, & Capt. Lee are slightly wounded.

^b*Op. cit.*, pp. 72-74.

The Loss of this Action is not so bad in its consequences as might be expected. Tho' our men were broke yet the Spirit of the Army is not—they rallied the same night and retired the next Day in good Order, & in as good Spirits as they were before the Action, and are now as desirous of fighting as ever. Our Misfortune is principally owing to a Blunder of which Genl. Sullivan is said to be the Author. This you may depend on, that the Enemy are so disabled that they have not been able to move since the Battle. As soon as they advance you may expect to hear of another Action. We are determined to fight them as often as we can. May God send us better luck. We have this one thing to Comfort under this Affair, that the loss of one Battle will not determine the fate of our Country, & that a few more such Victories will not leave the Enemy any Men. In a few Days we shall have a Vast Army. The Militia are coming from all quarters & I am in hopes we shall be able totally to destroy this Army which did not before the Action Exceed 10,000 Men.

With Love to My Mother & our Dear Dearest Children
I am

My Dearest Hannah
Ever Affectionate
D. Griffith.^c

Then came the surrender of General Burgoyne's army, and Dr. Griffith wrote jubilantly to his wife:

Camp North Wales, 19th October, 1777.

Some Days ago I had the satisfaction to inform my Dearest Hannah that I was well . . . I gave you a particular Acct of our two last Battles. I intended that Letter to go by Baldy Johnson, but as he is not yet set out, I know not when you will receive it. We have received News with these few Days past from the Northward which Gladdens all our Hearts. Genl. Gates fought Burgoyne on the 7th Inst. The Action commenced at 3 oClock P. M. & Lasted till night, when Gates was Master of the Field, took 8 Pieces of Cannon, 300 Tents, all the Baggage of their flying Camp & Waggons, 260 Prisoners in the field besides 300 Sick & Wounded that they could not remove. Sir Francis Carr Clarke Aid de Camp to Burgoyne, is among the Prisoners, 3 Majors & many other Officers. The Consequences of this Victory is equal to our most Sanguine Expectation; for yesterday Genl. Washington was Informed by Express from Albany that Burgoyne had signed a Capitulation by which he surrenders himself & his whole Army Prisoners of War to march into Boston Government there to remain Prisoners. I can assure you all mentioned above are facts well authenticated, & we had yesterday evening a *feu de Joy* through our whole Army on the Occasion. Bur-

^c*Virginia Seminary Magazine, Vol. IV, p. 24. (November, 1890.)*

goyne was reduced to the Most deplorable Situation—his Troops were deserting fast, and they were almost Starved for want of Provisions. They had hardly anything to Subsist on but Boiled Corn for Several Days before they surrendered. The two last Battles fought by us, tho' apparently against us, have been attended with Salutary Effects. The Enemy have lost so many men in them that they are much weakened thereby. We are this moment informed by Express that they have quitted German Town (14 miles from this place) & a Report prevails that they have Evacuated Philada., but this is not Certain. They have for several Days past made fruitless Attempts upon Our Works on the River and our Fort. Unless they can Carry these, it will be impossible for them to keep the City, as they cannot get any Provisions but from their Ships. Orders are given for our Army to march tomorrow morning at four oClock; we are going after them & you may expect to hear shortly of something decisive respecting American Affairs. I heartily thank God for these Successes, and Congratulate you on the Occasion. I know you will rejoice with me. Remember me to my Dear Babes and Good Mother

I am

My Dearest Hannah

Ever Affectionate

D. Griffith.^d

The Enemy attacked and took Fort Montgomery, in the Highlands, a few days ago. They Carried it by Storm—were thrice repulsed & lost 7 or 800 Men. Among them Genl. Campbell & three field Officers. We lost in Killed & Wounded & Missing about 200, the rest of the Garrison escaped they were 400 in all. The Enemy on hearing of Gates's success abandoned their conquest & returned to New York.

With the bitter winter of 1777-78 at Valley Forge behind him he wrote in cheerful tone to Col. Powell:

Valley Forge, 3d June, 1778

Dear Col. Want of opportunity has put it out of my power to fulfil my engagement to you as soon as you may expect, and as things are not yet in a quite settled state, it is not in my power to give you all the satisfaction you desire.

The army is just where it was when you left it, but very differently circumstanced; things seem much mended for the better. Everything wears an appearance of neatness and order, the men are very well clothed, but not quite all armed. we have plenty of provisions and forage. The Hospitals are well supplied and neatly kept, you hear of no complaints now from that or any other Department. The strictest attention is paid to discipline since the appointment of the new Inspector

^d*Virginia Seminary Magazine, Vol. IV, pp. 25-26. (November, 1890.)*

General, the Baron Steuben, (a Prussian,) and I think the whole army is much improved in that particular. Every Brigade is out twice a day, and has been for many weeks past.

All the proposed Regulations have not yet taken place, but Congress have them under consideration; what they have confirmed is, allowing the Staff to be taken out of the Line, and allowing half pay to officers for seven years. They have determined nothing yet respecting the number of Regiments, nothing is done concerning the 16 additional.^e As to our numbers, I cannot speak with certainty, but I imagine it does not exceed 14,000 men exclusive of the two Brigades under Smallwood.

There are very few men come from New England tho' many are recruited in those States—they are all stopped at Peeksville, where an army is forming under Gen. Gates.—The Quotas of New York and New Jersey are quiet complete. The Maryland Brigades are very strong, and it is expected they will be complete in a short time. Virginia makes the poorest figure of any State in the recruiting way. People from other States do not forget to tell us of it. The corps of Artillery is very strong; the number almost double what they were last campaign.

We have been in daily expectation for ten days past, of going into Philadelphia. All the accounts from that place, for three weeks past, agree in confirming the opinion that they are about to evacuate the city. People are coming out daily, who all say that they have wooded and watered their Vessels, have embarked their Baggage and Cannon, that the Tories have had notice to embark their property, and many are actually gone on board. Most of the ships are actually got through the Chevaux de frise, and lie below Chester.

The British make no secret of declaring that they are going to some place to collect their whole force, and that Rhode Island is to be evacuated. If our accounts from New York are to be depended on, they are preparing to evacuate that place. It is expected our next move will be through New Jersey towards that city, but we shall not stir until we have the fullest assurances that they have evacuated Philadelphia. The whole army has been under marching orders for a week past, and everything is ready to move at a moment's warning.

All the accounts you hear from France are abundantly confirmed; a duplicate of the Treaty and the original copy have since arrived. The last papers from Boston mention the arrival of five large French Ships with goods, one of them a King's ship of 36 guns. They bring 12,000 suits of clothes among other things. Goods of all kinds are very plenty in Boston.

We are all in high spirits, hoping a speedy and happy end
ei. c., the Sixteen Additional Regiments, authorized in January, 1777.

to this contest. May the Almighty God grant it, is the fervent prayer of your affectionate

Humble Servant,
D. Griffith.

Col. Leven Powell,^f
Loudoun County, Va.

Let us close his war letters with a little act of human kindness

Lieutenant General Earl Cornwallis Hereby orders that Mr. Griffith, a Surgeon belonging to General Washington's Army, shall not be made prisoner, nor Molested in any manner by any of His Majesty's Troops during his attendance on Colonel Baylor and the rest of the Wounded of his Corps at Taapan.

By Order of Lt. Gen. Earl Cornwallis.

A. Ross
Aide de Camp.

30th September, 1778

Captain Ross presents his Compliments to Mr. Griffith, and, by Lord Cornwallis's directions, sends a few Lemons that were got by accident. for the use of Colonel Baylor. When more come from New York, they shall be sent.
1st October, 1778^g

Dr. Griffith continued in military service for three full years, the latter part of which he served as brigade chaplain of Gen. Woodford's Brigade. He resigned on March 18, 1779, and returned to pastoral work.¹⁷ He became later a member of the Virginia Society of the Cincinnati,¹⁸ and also received from the Commonwealth of Virginia his proper allotment of military lands in Kentucky, based upon his services in his dual capacity.¹⁹

The date when he resigned Shelburne Parish is not known. Inasmuch as the taxes for the support of the Church were remitted from January 1, 1777, it is very probable that he resigned at that time, so as to leave the vestry free to raise such subscription as they could for a resident minister. He entered into correspondence with vestries of

^f*Biography and Correspondence of Col. Leven Powell.*

^g*Virginia Seminary Magazine, Vol. IV, p. 65. (December, 1890.)*

¹⁷Heitman, *Historical Register of Officers of the Continental Army in the American Revolution. Bounty Warrants, David Griffith, 1783, in Virginia State Library.*

¹⁸*Society of the Cincinnati in the State of Virginia, p. 281.*

¹⁹On November 14, 1791, two years after his death, the Virginia Legislature enacted a Bill appointing trustees to sell as much of his Kentucky lands as they deemed necessary for the needs of his widow and minor children. See, *Hening's Statutes, XIII, pp. 311-13. See also, Va. Mag. of History and Biography, XVI: 42.*

several other parishes before leaving the Army. Writing to his wife from West Point on September 23, 1778, he said:²⁰

West Point, 23rd Sept. 1778

My Dearest Hannah:

A Day or two after the Date of my last the whole Army moved—and divided into three parts—the left Wing under Genl. Gates is gone to Danbury in Connecticut, the second line & Part of the right Wing is at Fredericksburg (on Philips' upper Patent) under General Washington, & the remainder of the right Wing consisting of all the Virginia Troops is here under the command of Genl. Putnam. We are along the banks of the North River in the Middle of the Highlands, Encamped on Beverley Robinson's Farm, in order to secure a Fort that is building on the other side of the River. The occasion of our last movement is for the more convenient subsisting of the Army, as all the Country below is entirely exhausted. Here I expect we shall wait till the Enemy attempt to do something—every acct from New York seems to confirm the Opinion that they are about to evacuate the city.

Six weeks ago I recd a letter from Col. Harrison²¹ inviting me to the Parish where he lives. (It is the same I was called to Col. Bird²² three or four years ago). He offers me £400 a year and there is a Glebe. But I shall decline it for the same reasons that I did before, that it is sickly. This day I recd a letter from a Captain Conway in Alexandria inviting me to that parish,²³ which is vacant. There is a very fine Glebe belonging to it but he mentions no certain salary only that he thinks a very genteel subscription will be made up. My inclination would lead me to this last place in preference to most places I know in Virginia if they can but make me up a Competent Support & put it on some certain footing . . . I am under no absolute agreement with the gentlemen in Berkeley or Frederick, & they have not let me hear from them agreeable to their promise.

Truly & affectionately yours,

D. Griffith

P. S. Mr. Robert Livingstone, who came out of New York a few Days since, told me that he saw your Brother in London in the month of April last, that he was in the Navy, & at this time is master of the Pallas, Man of War. This information he had from your brother.

It seems quite probable that Dr. Griffith had accepted the call to

²⁰*Virginia Seminary Magazine, Vol. IV, pp. 61-62.*

²¹*Col. Benjamin Harrison, of Berkeley, in Charles City County.*

²²*Col. William Byrd of Westover. Both Col. Byrd and Col. Harrison were residents of Westover Parish. The salary of £400 which they offered is indicative of the steadily increasing inflation of the Virginia and the Continental money.*

²³*Fairfax Parish in Fairfax County.*

the rectorship of Fairfax Parish, and went directly from Army service to his new field. He continued in that parish until his death. Fairfax Parish covered the northern half of Fairfax County, and had two churches, both of which are still standing: the church in Alexandria, now known as Christ Church, and the Falls Church in the present-day town of that name. The parish glebe, which he occupied, was situated between the two churches. Notable among his parishioners and attendants at the Church in Alexandria after the year 1783, was his old commander and friend, now living in retirement at Mount Vernon.

The cessation of hostilities after Yorktown, and the resultant Treaty of Peace of 1783 left the Church of Virginia in an utterly impossible situation. It was still the Established Church of the Commonwealth, and as such was bound hand and foot by the laws enacted for its government in the colonial period, whereas every restriction or restraint affecting dissenting bodies had been removed. The taxes for the support of the Church had been remitted in 1777 and 1778, and finally abolished in 1779.²⁴ The only emolument assured to any incumbent of a parish was the use of the parish glebe, and such voluntary pledges as could be made by parishioners untrained to give and suffering from rapidly depreciating currency and entire loss of foreign trade.

Notwithstanding this financial uncertainty, however, and the normal number of deaths in nine years, the withdrawal of Tory clergy and losses from every other source, there were, in 1785, at least fifty of the clergy of the colonial period still in charge of parishes in Virginia.²⁵ But, as the laws stood, no minister could be appointed to a parish unless he had been ordained by the bishop of a diocese in England, and he must bring a certificate from the bishop of London to the governor. No vestry of any parish could be dissolved except by the State legislature, and if this were done and a new election ordered, every Baptist, Presbyterian, Quaker or Lutheran freeholder resident in the parish would be entitled to vote. In many parishes in the western part of the commonwealth these would be in the majority, and could elect whomsoever they would as the vestry of the parish. There was no longer a commissary to call the clergy into convention, and if they met they had no power to legislate for the Church.²⁶

The clergy were obviously cowed by the vociferous attacks that had been made upon the Church and the growing strength of the dissenters, and no leader seems to have arisen among them. They felt,

²⁴H. J. Eckenrode: *Separation of Church and State in Virginia*, pp. 50; 61-62.

²⁵*Historical Magazine of the Episcopal Church*, Vol. 4, pp. 27-28.

²⁶E. L. Goodwin: in *Council Journal Diocese of Virginia 1910*, Appendix, pp. 3-9.

as the Rev. Miles Selden later wrote to Dr. Griffith, that inasmuch as the legislature had brought the Church into its difficulties, the legislature was the only body which could move to undertake its revival. It was left to a man nurtured in the freer atmosphere of a section in which the Church had won its right to live by fighting for its own existence, to take the first steps of inspiring the clergy of Virginia with the determination to meet in convention and ask for the repeal of the laws which held the Church in chains.

In the autumn of 1783, perhaps immediately after the news had come of the signing of the treaty of peace, Dr. Griffith began an effort to interest some of the other clergy in calling a convention. He wrote to the Rev. John Buchanan, at that time curate of Henrico Parish:²⁷

"Dear Sir: You may recollect the conversation we had when I had the pleasure of seeing you at Richmond; that we mutually lamented the declining state of the Church of England in this country, and the pitiable situation of her clergy,—especially those whose circumstances are not sufficiently independent to place them beyond the reach of want. I am satisfied our Church has yet a very great number of powerful friends who are disposed to give it encouragement and support, and who wish to see some plan in agitation for effecting a business so important, and at this time so very necessary. It is, (and very justly) matter of astonishment to many, that those whose more immediate duty it is to look to the concerns of their religious society should show so much indifference and indolence as the Church and clergy do, while the leaders of almost every other denomination are labouring with the greatest assiduity to increase their influence, and, by open attacks and subtle machinations, endeavouring to lessen that of every other society,—particularly the Church to which you and I have the honour to belong, in whose destruction they all (Quakers and Methodists excepted) seem to agree perfectly, however they may differ in other points. Against these it behooves us to be cautious. But, unless the clergy act conjointly and agreeably to some well-regulated plan, the ruin of our Church is inevitable without the malevolence of her enemies. Considering her present situation and circumstances,—without ordination, without government, without support, unprotected by the laws, and yet labouring under injurious restrictions from laws which yet exist,—these things considered, her destruction is as sure as fate, unless some mode is adopted for her preservation. Her friends, by suffering her to continue in her present state of embarrassment, as effectually work her destruction as her avowed enemies could do by their most successful contrivances.

In the late contest for a stake of the last importance to this country, it would have been imprudent to enter on a regu-

²⁷*Meade, Old Churches, Ministers and Families in Virginia, Vol. II, pp. 264-65.*

lation of ecclesiastical affairs, or to attempt anything that might interrupt that union which was so necessary for our mutual security and preservation. But that time, God be thanked, is happily over, and those reasons no longer exist. It seems high time for those whom it concerns to be engaged in the important business of regulating the affairs of the Church. I have been for some time in the hope that some of my brethren near the seat of government would set on foot this necessary business; and my reason for addressing you at this time is to be informed whether any thing of the kind is begun or intended,—the time when the place where, and manner how,—and, if nothing of the kind should be yet determined upon, to request of you, as your situation renders it no way inconvenient, to undertake to promote a Convention of the clergy for that purpose.

* * * * *

You may remember that when I had the pleasure of seeing you I expressed a wish that a coalition might take place between us and the Dissenters: it is still my most earnest wish, but I am now satisfied it is a vain one; and I think our Church has no chance of preserving any of its ancient and excellent forms of worship, but from the united zeal and efforts of her clergy. I think it is this alone that can preserve her very existence. I am &c.

David Griffith.

To this letter Mr. Buchanan replied, several months later.²⁸

Dear Sir: I received your letter by Mr. Fairfax. . . .

As I had nothing of consequence to write you by Mr. Fairfax, I desired him verbally to acquaint you that your brethren in this neighbourhood had done nothing to forward the reestablishment of our Church; indeed they seemed to despair of anything being done effectually without its originating in the Assembly. I showed them your letter: they approved highly of your zeal, but were by no means sanguine in the result of a convocation. It was agreed among us that we should meet on some day most convenient for Mr. Leigh,²⁹ who lives the greatest distance from this city, to take into further consideration the subject of your letter. Thus matters stood until the 29th of December, when Mr. Selden²⁹ received a letter from the above gentleman,—a copy whereof is herein enclosed that you may have a full view of the argument he offers against your plan of a convocation. For my own part, before I was favoured with your ideas I was firmly of opinion that the reformation should first take place in the Legislature;—that, if they thought public religion essential not only to the good order but to the very existence of government, it be-

²⁸*Meade, Old Churches, Ministers and Families in Virginia, Vol. II, pp. 265-67.*

²⁹*Rev. William Leigh, rector of Dale Parish in Chesterfield County. Rev. Miles Selden, rector of Henrico Parish.*

hooved them to make a legal provision for its teachers, and to raise them from that state of indigence and dependence which, I will not scruple to say, they themselves were the cause of,³⁰ otherwise they cannot reasonably expect that religion will flourish in a country where its ministers are reduced to a state of beggary and contempt. I remember, in a conversation at Wilton on this very subject, a Mr. Douglass, lately from England, expressed his surprise that the clergy of our Church had never presented a memorial to the House respecting the state of religion; in which he was joined by the Speaker of the Senate. I gave my opinion as above, and further added, that such an application would give alarm to the Sectaries, who would, no doubt, throw every obstruction in the way, if not render totally abortive every measure we should adopt. The present Governor thought my argument had weight, and said it was a reproach on Government that they had done nothing in support of religion. . . .

You observe Mr. Leigh expresses a willingness to meet us at any appointed time, to put into execution the plan you propose, or, if we think proper, he allows us to put his name down to any notification to our brethren.

As we have been so long undetermined, nothing, I think can be done this winter. Should business, or your inclinations, lead you to this city in April, pray send me previous notice of it, that I may inform some of the gentlemen in this neighbourhood. Your presence may rouse us from our lethargy; and for my own part, if you think a memorial to the House expedient, I will give it my hearty concurrence, or any other plan you may adopt.

I am, dear Sir, with real esteem

Your most obedient servant,

John Buchanan

Richmond, February 2, 1784.

In spite of the discouraging opinion expressed by Mr. Buchanan, the matter was pressed, and a convention of clergy was eventually called. It met in Richmond early in June, 1784, with the Rev. Samuel Sheild, rector of St. Asaph's Parish in Caroline County, serving as president. It sat for three days, but there is no existing record of its membership

³⁰*It would seem obvious that Mr. Buchanan's meaning here is that inasmuch as the legislature had brought the clergy to a state of indigence and dependence by abolishing the parish taxes from which their support came, the legislature should take the proper steps in making legal provision for the support of the clergy. But Bishop Meade's queerly perverted comment is: "Nothing could better exhibit the true condition of things in Virginia than this correspondence. Dr. Buchanan acknowledges that the clergy had brought this ruin upon themselves by their own misconduct. Guilt-stricken, they were afraid and ashamed to come forward boldly and call upon the legislature to do something for the cause of religion and morals." Mr. Buchanan said nothing of the kind. It is by forced interpretations of this kind, made by sadly prejudiced writers, that the character and reputation of the colonial clergy of Virginia have been unjustly blasted.*

nor any of its transactions beyond the petition which was determined upon and prepared, and presented to the House of Representatives on June 4.³¹ The petition is as follows.³²

To the Honorable the Speaker, and the House of Delegates of the Commonwealth of Virginia:

The Petition of the Clergy of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Virginia in Convention met:
Humbly Sheweth:

That your petitioners being assembled for the purpose of taking into consideration the general concerns of the Church to which they belong, and being desirous of seeing some plan adopted for the preservation of order and government in that Church, and keeping up a succession in her ministry, and it being rendered absolutely necessary by the late glorious revolution, that some alterations should be made in these respects, as well that our Liturgy or forms of public worship should be revised, and we conceiving this to be our immediate duty, and a right always granted to the ministers of every Christian church, and being desirous of proceeding in a business which we apprehend to be of the utmost importance to our religious communion, do find ourselves restricted herein, and our Church labouring under difficulties and embarrassments, by the operation of sundry laws, which enjoin the use of a certain prescribed form of public worship, and direct what shall be the qualifications of ministers to be received into parishes within this Commonwealth, which qualifications it is impossible for any citizens of this Commonwealth, at this time, to obtain.

The laws of our country enjoining such observances, we conceive ourselves restrained from making any alterations therein (except such as are warranted by the revolution), without the previous permission of the Legislature; we, therefore, Appeal to Your honorable house for relief in the premises, requesting you will be pleased to repeal so much of the act entitled "Ministers to be inducted" as directs that "No minister be admitted to officiate in any parish Church in this Commonwealth but such as shall present to the Governor a Testimonial of his having received ordination from some bishop in England, and shall subscribe to be conformable to the orders and constitutions of the Church of England, and the laws there established." This law, as it now stands, is not only an effectual bar to our having a succession of Ministers, but prevents us from adopting such regulations as are necessary to the well ordering and governing of our Church.

³¹Eckenrode, H. J. *Separation of Church and State in Virginia*, p. 178: Goodwin, E. L., *The First Convention of the Diocese of Virginia*, 5-6.; *Historical Magazine of the Episcopal Church*, Vol. 4, pp. 28-29.

³²*Archives Department Virginia State Library. Council Journal, Diocese of Virginia for 1910, Appendix, p. 15.*

We also find ourselves restrained in proceeding in the wish'd for regulation, by the operation of sundry other laws, which prohibit any Alteration in our form of public worship—prescribes modes of faith, and enjoin the observance of certain days, and being by the late happy revolution, loosed from those obligations which bound us to our former spiritual as well as temporal rulers, we wish to be indulged also with the liberty of introducing into our Church a system of order and government suited to our religious principles—of directing a form of public worship hereafter to be used in the Episcopal Churches within this Commonwealth, and of regulating all the Spiritual concerns of that Church.

That no obstacle may remain to prevent the attainment of our reasonable desires, we humbly request the honorable house that they will be pleased to repeal all those laws which direct modes of faith and worship and enjoin the observance of certain days; and that they will be pleased to enable the clergy of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Virginia by an act of incorporation to regulate all the spiritual concerns of that Church—alter its form of worship, and institute such Canons, by-laws and rules for the government and good order thereof as are suited to their religious principles.

We wish also to represent to the General Assembly that the vestries of the different parishes in this Commonwealth, being chosen by a majority of the whole parish, among which, in some parishes are numerous bodies of people dissenting from the Episcopal Church; and the vestries so chosen having, as well the appointment of Ministers, as the Management of all other parochial business in the affairs of the Episcopal Church may be influenced to its disadvantage, and its members be led into contentions with Christians of other denominations, which we earnestly wish to avoid. In order to prevent such consequences, and that no other religious society may in any degree have it in their power to interfere in the affairs of the Episcopal Church, we pray the honorable the General Assembly to grant us security herein, by repealing so much of the act entitled "Vestries Appointed", and of every other act, as points out the mode of choosing vestries, the manner of filling up vacancies in vestries, and prescribing oaths and subscriptions to vestrymen; that they would be pleased to remove from the vestries the direction and care of the poor, and direct vestrymen to be chosen from among and by such persons only as are members of the Episcopal Church.

We beg leave further to represent to the Honorable House that as by the introduction of unavoidable alterations in the liturgy of the Episcopal Church, and by altering the Appellation by which that church was formerly known and distinguished; cavils may arise concerning the property which belongs to her as the Established Church; for preventing all future disputes and litigations in the premises, we pray the honorable house,

that they would be pleased to provide, for securing for ever, to the Protestant Episcopal Church in Virginia, the churches, Glebe-lands, donations, and all other property belonging to the said established Church.

Together with these requests we recommend to the honorable the general Assembly, the patronage and care of the Christian Religion, which, from the moderation and gentleness of its principles, that spirit of universal benevolence which it breathes, and the excellency of its precepts and morals, to say nothing of its high and heavenly origin, must merit the encouragement of all public bodies instituted for the government of mankind; and, whenever it is properly countenanced and protected, will have such an influence on society as must tend greatly to promote its tranquillity and happiness, and to banish from the world the baneful effects of irreligion.

We pray the Almighty God to direct and prosper all your consultations to the advancement of His glory, and the good of the people committed to your care.

Signed by order of the Convention,
Samuel Sheild, President

Richmond, 3 June, 1784.

The petition evoked strong opposition from other religious bodies; one of the main points of disapproval and opposition being the request to incorporate the clergy as the corporate body governing and controlling the Church.³³ Debate upon the matter continued for six months, but eventually the necessary laws were enacted, and by the end of December, 1784, the Church was finally released from its former establishment, and subjection to the civil government, and incorporated as an independent body with authority to legislate for its own welfare and hold and administer its own property.³⁴ But the government of the Church was settled in an annual convention to which each parish was entitled to send two deputies,—one of which should be the rector of the parish if they had a rector. It was therefore placed in a body which must inevitably contain more laymen than clergymen.

Under the authority of the Act of Incorporation the first convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church of Virginia assembled in Richmond on May 18, 1785.³⁵

In the meantime however, Dr. Griffith had been in correspondence with the Rev. Dr. William White, of Philadelphia, and others, concerning the suggestion which had originated at a meeting of a group

³³Eckenrode, *Separation of Church and State in Virginia*, p. 81.

³⁴Eckenrode, *op. cit.*, p. 101. This act of Incorporation is published in full in Hawkes' *Ecclesiastical Contributions to the History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America*, Vol. 1, (The Virginia volume), Appendix pp. 1-3.

³⁵For an account of this convention see *Historical Magazine of the Episcopal Church*, vol. 4, pp. 25-32, and Vol. 8, pp. 240-45.

of clergymen and laymen of Pennsylvania and New Jersey, held at New Brunswick, New Jersey, on May 11, 1784, at which meeting a suggestion was made that a conference be held of clergy appointed by the Episcopal Church in the several states, "for the purpose of forming a Continental Representation of the Episcopal Church and for the better management of the concerns of the said Church".³⁶ To these letters Dr. Griffith sent the following reply:³⁷

Fairfax Glebe, 26th July, 1784.

Dear Sir:

Your different letters, to the Convention at Richmond and to myself, on the subject of a general meeting of the Episcopal Clergy at New York, were all received, but not time enough to be laid before the Convention, which sat only three days. The Episcopal Church in Virginia is so fettered by Laws, that the Clergy could do no more than petition for a repeal of those laws—for liberty to introduce Ordination and Government and to revise and alter the Liturgy. The session is passed over without our being able to accomplish this. The few Clergymen at Richmond to whom your letter was shewn, approved the Plan and proceedings of the Pennsylvania Convention, and also of the general meeting at New York, but no delegates have been appointed to attend. In the Present State of Ecclesiastical affairs in this State, the Clergy could not, with propriety, and indeed without great danger to the Church, empower any Persons to agree to the least alterations whatever. I shall be able to explain to you the necessity of their acting with this caution when I shall have the pleasure of seeing you. Having some business in New York with the Executors of my Mother in Law, I shall endeavour to be there about the time of the general Convention; perhaps a few days before it. I shall, therefore, say no more on the subject of the Circular Letter, only that no notice of the intended meeting has been sent to North Carolina; none of the Clergy present, at the time of receiving your letter, having any acquaintance with the Brethren in that State.

Altho' this letter is addressed to you, yet I beg it may be considered as an answer to those signed by yourself together with our Brothers McGaw and Blackwell. To whom, (tho' I have not the pleasure of being personally known to the former) I beg to be affectionately remembered.

I am, Dr. Sir,

Your afft. hmble. servt

David Griffith.

Rev. Dr. White.

³⁶Perry, *William Stevens, Half Century of Legislation of the American Church*, Vol. III, pp. 7-8.

³⁷*Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 46.

Dr. Griffith attended this preliminary meeting held on October 6 and 7, 1784, as an unofficial visitor. He reported to the Virginia Convention of 1785 the recommendations adopted at that meeting that the Church in the several states should unite upon the basis of six general principles therein set forth. The plan was approved by the Virginia Convention with certain reservations, and Dr. Griffith and John Page, of Rosewell, in Gloucester County were elected as deputies from Virginia to the first general convention.³⁸ Both deputies were present at that meeting, and Dr. Griffith was elected its secretary. He served as president of the second General Convention, held in June, 1786, though he was unable to attend the adjourned meeting held in October of that year. He was elected a deputy to the General Convention of 1789, but was ill when he reached Philadelphia, and consequently took no part in its deliberations.

Set free by its disestablishment from the control of civil government, the Church in Virginia started out upon its independent career in a stormy sea. Without were the bitterly hostile forces of the former "dissenting bodies", the Presbyterians and Baptists, who were insistent, the former on the repeal of the Act of Incorporation, and the latter that the property of "the former established church" should be taken away from the Protestant Episcopal Church and devoted to public uses.³⁹ But still more hurtful in the end to the true welfare of the Church was the attitude of many of the leading laymen of the Commonwealth, and their plans for the organization of the Church. Very frankly many of them did not want any bishop at all.⁴⁰ The majority perhaps recognized the necessity of a bishop to ordain and confirm, but beyond that they desired that he should have no authority whatever, except what was assigned to him by the convention of the diocese; and indeed, he was expected to be the rector of a parish as well as a bishop. Under the canons of the diocese as adopted in 1785, the Church in Virginia had little power to organize resistance to its entrenched enemies outside, and no power at all to protect itself from the many unworthy

³⁸*Historical Magazine of the Episcopal Church*, Vol. 8, pp. 240-45.: *Hawkes, Contributions to the Ecclesiastical History of the United States of America* Vol. 1, Appendix, pp. 3-11.

³⁹For a full account of the contest see Eckenrode, *Separation of Church and State in Virginia*. The Church lost out on both fronts. The Act of Incorporation was repealed in 1787, and the tangible property of glebes and endowments was taken away by the Sequestration Act of 1802.

⁴⁰Col. Richard Bland, of Virginia, writing in 1771 to his friend Thomas Adams in England, about the abortive effort to have the Virginia clergy endorse the effort to secure a Bishop for America, gives his reasons for opposing that effort as being subversive of laws already in force and concludes: "I profess myself a sincere son of the Established Church; but I can embrace her doctrines without approving of her Hierarchy, which I know to be a Relick of the Papal Inroachments upon the Common Law." This letter is given in full in *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. VI, pp. 127-34.

ministers cast out of other dioceses who seemed to flock to Virginia between 1790 and 1812, and brought to the Church a period of shame and humiliation and loss. It was the unwisdom of her friends more than the animosity of her enemies that paralyzed the Church for a generation.

The Virginia Convention of May, 1786, received the report of its deputies to the General Convention, including the proposed prayer book, as prepared by that body. It received also the letter from the archbishops of the Church of England protesting against the changes made in the prayer book. The attendance was far smaller, there being 47 lay delegates and 16 clergy from 43 parishes as compared with 71 lay delegates and 36 clergy from 69 parishes at the convention of 1785. The proposed constitution of the Protestant Episcopal Church as prepared by the General Convention was adopted, and after disapproving certain of the Articles of Religion the following resolution in regard to the prayer book was adopted:

"Resolved; That the Book of Common Prayer, as recommended by the late General Convention be approved, ratified, and used, except the Rubric before the Communion Service, and such alterations of the Articles of Religion as are referred to the consideration of the next General Convention."⁴¹

This was done in manifest disregard of the letter of the English archbishops and bishops, which made very clear that they were unwilling to consecrate bishops for America unless the proposed book were revised, and the Nicene Creed, and certain other things which had been omitted, were restored.

The Convention then proceeded to the election of a bishop, and Dr. Griffith was elected by a vote of 32 to 17, which was then made unanimous. The Rev. John Bracken of Bruton Parish received ten votes and Rev. Samuel Sheild, seven.⁴² Dr. Griffith was elected a deputy to the General Convention also.

Almost our entire knowledge of Dr. Griffith from the time of his election as bishop in May, 1786 until his unexpected death during the meeting of the General Convention in Philadelphia in August, 1789, is to be found in a series of letters written by him to Bishop White.⁴³

Accepting his election with high hopes that the Church people throughout the State would respond without delay to the Convention's appeal for gifts to a fund to defray the expenses of his trip to England

⁴¹Hawkes, *Virginia Volume, Appendix*, p. 16.

⁴²Hawkes, *ibid.*, p. 17.

⁴³These letters, sixteen in all, are published in Perry's *Half Century of Legislation of the American Church*, Vol. III, scattered between pages 321 and 390. The originals are in a collection of letters of Bishop White owned by the General Convention and placed for safe-keeping in the New York Historical Society.

for consecration, he looked forward to going over with Bishops-elect White and Provoost. There was the question at first whether the English bishops would consecrate any bishop for America until the defects in the proposed prayer book were corrected; but it seemed to him that the standing committee of the Church in Virginia, even after the receipt of a copy of the act of Parliament authorizing the archbishops to consecrate bishops for a foreign land, were unwilling to accept that matter as settled: so he expressed himself in his letters to Dr. White. The bishops-elect for Pennsylvania and New York started out upon their trip, and he perforce must remain at home chafing under the delay. Then the two new bishops were back again and entering upon the work of their respective dioceses; and writing to his friend he bursts out with an expression of his opinion that the standing committee, composed as it was of clergymen and laymen living in Williamsburg and the adjoining counties of York and Gloucester, were unwilling to complete the fund to defray his expenses because they wished to have as their bishop one who would be more subservient to their influence. In a later letter he amends this opinion by expressing his conviction that the failure to raise sufficient funds had nothing in it of personal antagonism to himself, but arose from the fact that many, even some members of the standing committee, did not want any bishop at all.⁴⁴

The situation was all the more complicated because it was definitely understood that there would be no consecration of a bishop by Bishops White and Provoost until there were three bishops of the English line in America; and further that the archbishops were unwilling to consecrate more than three bishops for the American Church. The Church in New England had Bishop Seabury, of Connecticut, consecrated by the bishops of the Episcopal Church of Scotland; but the way had not yet been opened whereby he and his diocese could become members of the General Convention. The situation had become all the more tense because, at the General Convention of June, 1786, a resolution was adopted recommending to conventions of the states represented in the General Convention, not to admit any person as a minister within their respective limits who should receive ordination from any bishop residing in America during the applications now pending to the English bishops for consecration.⁴⁵

⁴⁴*Perry op. cit.* III, pp. 335, 362. By a typographical error this letter on pages 362-63 is dated Jan'y 12, 1788, whereas the original letter is dated June 12, 1788.

⁴⁵*Journal of the General Convention of 1786 under date of June 23. Acting in conformity with this resolution the Virginia Convention of 1787 solemnly requested Bishop White and Bishop Provoost or either of them—to consecrate Dr. Griffith as their bishop. See Hawkes, Virginia Volume, Appendix, p. 21, and Dr. Griffith's comment thereon in his letter to Bishop White of May 28, 1787 in Perry op. cit.* III, pp. 348-51.

Besides Bishops White and Provoost for Pennsylvania and New York respectively, the only other states where there seemed to be sufficient strength to elect a bishop were Maryland and Virginia. New Jersey adjoining both Pennsylvania and New York, and Delaware in close proximity to Philadelphia, could secure episcopal ministrations from the bishops already consecrated. In the states south of Virginia the weakness of the Church and the opposition to having a bishop prevented the probability of an election. Maryland as early as 1783 had nominated the Rev. Dr. William Smith to be their bishop, but strong opposition to his consecration had arisen both within and without the state, and the General Convention of October, 1786, after signing the testimonials for the bishops-elect of Pennsylvania, New York and Virginia, had declined to sign a testimonial for the bishop-elect of Maryland. Instead of selecting another minister the Maryland convention reaffirmed their confidence in Dr. Smith, by renominating him, and an impasse resulted,⁴⁶ as far as that diocese was concerned.

The one great hope therefore, of securing the third bishop of English consecration seemed to lie with Virginia;—and Virginia did not act. In utter hopelessness Dr. Griffith determined to resign the election, and went so far as to write out his resignation and forward his letter addressed to the president of the Episcopal Convention which was appointed to meet in May, 1788. But a quorum of deputies did not appear. Consequently no convention was held, and Dr. Griffith's letter was returned to him unopened.

A possibility seemed to appear later, that sufficient funds for his trip might be advanced to him as a loan by some friend of Bishop White, and, in spite of all the mounting difficulties in the way, he determined to accept the loan so as to secure for the American Church the third bishop of the English line: but the conditions upon which the loan was proposed to be made seemed upon further investigation to make acceptance impossible, and he declined the offer.⁴⁷ His resignation was presented to the Virginia convention of May, 1789, which accepted it, and elected him again as a clerical deputy to the General Convention of that year. He died (August 3, 1789) while in attendance upon its sessions.⁴⁸ In the end, however, it was the Church in Virginia which furnished the third bishop of the English line to the American Church. At the convention of May, 1790, the Rev. Dr. James Madison, the president of William and Mary College, was elected bishop of Virginia.⁴⁹ He was consecrated in Lambeth Chapel on September 19, 1790, and on September 17, 1792, the four American Bishops, White, Provoost and

⁴⁶See Perry, *op. cit. passim* and Dr. Griffith's letters therein, pp. 331, 335, 360.

⁴⁷See Dr. Griffith's letters, in Perry, *op. cit.* III, pp. 371, 379, 380.

⁴⁸Journal Gen. Convention of 1789, *passim*.

⁴⁹Hawkes, *Virginia Volume, Appendix*, p. 30.

Madison, of the English line and Seabury, of the Scottish Church, joined in the consecration of Thomas John Claggett of Maryland, as the first bishop consecrated by the bishops of the American Church.

The following group of letters to Bishop White show clearly the conditions which Dr. Griffith faced in Virginia, both within and without the Church.^a

Fairfax Glebe, 20th October, 1786.

Dear Sir,^b

I have recd. your letter, dated since your return from Wilmington, and am greatly obliged to you, as well for the information it contains, as for your kind attention to the business of the Testimonial. . . .

Your resolutions respecting the Creeds will, I make no doubt, be satisfactory both in England and to the Church in the different States. I think there is no reason to apprehend a noncompliance from Virga.

I have forwarded Copies of the paper I last recd. from you to the Chairman of our Standing Committee from whom I have not yet heard on the subject of the Act of Parliament, tho it is more than five weeks since I sent it to him. In his last he told me they had determined to call a Convention as soon as they were satisfied that the Act had passed the British Legislature—they, certainly, must have heard of it before this, as it has been published in most of the newspapers. I look for nothing but delays and difficulties so long as the present Commee. exists as I know some of the members to be unfriendly towards Episcopacy, and that others, among them, will not be satisfied unless the head of the Church resides at or near Williamsburg, and is so pliant in his disposition, that the sole direction of the concerns of religion may be in their own hands. To this I attribute the delay in calling a Convention.

We shall be again warmly attacked in the present session of the Assembly . . . the Presbyterians are petitioning for a repeal of the incorporating Act & the Baptists for the sale of the Glebes & Churches. It wou'd seem that nothing will satisfy these people but the entire destruction of the Episcopal Church. I know not what will be the issue of this business, as many of our Ablest defenders & warmest friends are not in the present Assembly.

Dr. Madison has, at length, published his Sermon (at the Opening of our last Convention) against Articles and Subscriptions, with a vast quantity of notes. I have not yet seen it, but expect to receive a Copy very soon—if it comes on time I will send it to you—it may serve to amuse you an hour or

^a*These letters here given are selected from a larger number published in Perry's Half Century of the Legislation of the American Church, Vol. III.*

^b*Perry, Op. Cit., p. 335.*

two on board ship, and will be a sort of Curiosity on the other side of the water.

As the Packet sails early in Novr. I shall take this opportunity of wishing you an Agreeable Voyage, and a speedy & safe return to your family. Whether I shall have the pleasure of seeing you in England is very uncertain, as the time of my departure is quite so. It does not depend on a variety of Circumstances—for, had I a Testimonial from the State Convention, & Money sufficient for the purpose, I should certainly accompany you & Dr. Provoost in the Packet. But I must wait with patience till these necessary things can be obtained. I hope to hear from you before your departure, & that you will not fail to write to me from England by every convenient opportunity. I am pleased to hear that our Boston Brethren are so well satisfied with the Alterations in the Liturgy, and I am not without a hope that the Episcopal Churches in all the States will, before long, be united in the same form of Worship, and in one System of Government and Discipline—Christian forbearance & Moderation on one hand, and a relaxation from bigotry and prejudice on the other will do it.

Be pleased to remember me very affectionately to Mr. Duchè and his family. I esteem them very highly for the goodness of their hearts and for many instances of a polite & friendly attention.

I am, Dr. Sir

Your very affectionate Brother
& most hu'ble Servt.

David Griffith

P. S. Very few of the Prayer Books have been sold in Alexandria, and Mr. Buchanan says nothing about them.

Fairfax Glebe, 28th April, 1787

Dear Sir,^c

Your letter of the 15th certifying your safe return made me very happy—it is an event about which I have been exceedingly anxious for many reasons, and altho some of them are of a selfish nature, yet be assured that I partake, in no small degree, of that Joy which your real friends must feel on the occasion.

Since your departure for Europe, the repeal of our incorporating Act, and the revival of some old Laws in consequence of it, have placed the Episcopal Church in this State (myself in particular) in a very embarrassing situation; so much so that I believe it would puzzle our whole bench of Chancellors to determine our exact situation: I consider my own as very critical, and am anxiously waiting for the meeting of our Convention (16th May) who I hope will determine what is proper to be done. Should they be of opinion that I Ought to proceed immediately to England, I shall set out as soon as

^c*Perry, op. cit., p. 348.*

they furnish me with a sufficiency to defray the Expenses of the Voyage, of which, by the bye, there is no appearance as yet. As there are frequent opportunities from this place, frugality as well as convenience will determine me to take Shipping here; and as I know not how sudden my movements may be after the Convention rises, it is my earnest wish to possess all the information you have to communicate previous to my leaving home, which will be about the 10th of May. I must request you to loose no time in doing this as your Communications may be necessary either to determine some of the resolutions of the Convention, or for the regulation of my own conduct at a time when I consider myself to be very critically situated. I would, on this occasion, recommend your sending your Letter under cover, directed to Mr. Wm. Herbert, Mercht. in Alexandria, whose particular care of the inclosed I shall previously engage.

I am very sorry to hear that our N. York friend has been in so dangerous & distressing a situation—I hope that his Native Air and the present agreeable season will soon restore his health.

Please remember me very respectfully to Mrs. White, & tell her I congratulated her very sincerely on the occasion of your safe return—I am sorry your meeting should have been embittered by anything so painful as reflections on the loss of a child.

I remain, my dear Sir,

Your very affecte. Brother
& most Hu'ble Servt.

D. Griffith.

Fairfax Glebe 28th May 1787

Dear Sir,^a

The Day before my departure for Richmond (from whence I am but just returned) I recd. your two letters of the 3rd. and 4th. of May which I, purposely, have delayed answering till the business of our Convention should be over. As soon as I receive the Journals I will send you a Copy; in the mean time I can only inform you, in general, that we have passed an Ordinance for the management of our Temporalities, revived the Canons, instituted under the incorporating Act, with very few alterations—agreed to the general Constitution—instructed the Deputies to the next General Convention (a Mr. Andrews & myself) to propose rejecting the descent into Hell, and the Nicene Creed from the Liturgy, and, which is more extraordinary, have directed the Standing Committee to write to Bishop Provoost and yourself requesting that you, or *either* of you, will be pleased to Consecrate a Bp. for this State. Those who were for leaving things as settled at Wilmington, gave very little interruption to the instructions for rejecting &c.

^aPerry, *op. cit.*, pp. 348-51.

being persuaded that they will be overruled by the General Convention. And as to the other resolution, I was in hopes your Letters to me would so far have satisfied the Advocates for the Measure, that they would not insist on it. Such parts of your Letters as related to the matter in debate were read, but without the expected effect. They are in hopes you may be prevailed on to act contrary to your own Sentiments, the opinion of the Bishops of England, and the general practice of the Christian Church. Their *first* proposition was that you and your Brother of N. York should request Bp. Seabury to unite with you in the intended Consecration; but this project was rejected as impracticable, & the more absurd one adopted. I expect you will very shortly hear from the Standing Committee on the subject—all the members of that Committee present, except one, were in favour of the resolution. The principal Argument used was that it would be impossible to raise so much money in the State as will be necessary to defray the Expenses of a Voyage to Europe: but the truth is that some of the friends of the Measure wish to prevent, if possible, the introduction of a Bp. into the State. What other Construction can be put upon the conduct of those who not only endeavour to throw difficulties in the way of its accomplishment but propose such alterations in the Canons as would deprive the Bp. of the right of Judging of the qualifications of Candidates for Orders, and even compel him to Ordain such as were offered by any two Presbyters, though himself should not approve of them. They have also ventured to assert the equality of Bps. & Presbrs. in primitive times, and made attempts to deprive the former of his right of preceedency in Ecclesiastical assemblies. What more could the most Zealous Presbyterian have proposed to abolish all distinction in the Orders of the Ministry, and overturn the Episcopal Church? The number of those men is very small, but as their intention is disguised with great Art, & sometimes assisted with popular Arguments, they frequently draw in some well disposed persons to support their measures. There was also among us another party who promoted the measure not because they expected it would be regarded, or because they were anxious to have it carried into effect, but merely because they hoped thereby, to deprive me of a Testimonial: For, after the Resolution was carried, they opposed the signing of the Testimonial, not because they had anything to object, as they declared, but because it was now rendered quite unnecessary; presuming that they should unquestionably succeed in their application to yourself and Bp. Provoost, or one of you. They were however disappointed in their main object, for their conduct was so obviously malicious & Mischievous, that the Testimonial was signed by more than four fifths of the Members present. The friends of the Episcopal Church (myself in particular) have had, I do assure you, a very disagreeable time of it. But we had also the satisfaction to see our op-

posers foiled in almost all their absurd proposals, and that they have so clearly discovered themselves, their principles and designs, that their influence must, I think, be much lessened in future.

If a prospect of difficulties could alone discourage me there are enough in view to induce me to decline the Episcopal Office, and could I see any probability of its being filled by a Person who would support the Character with propriety and oppose with firmness the ruinous Schemes of this Junto of innovators, I would certainly relinquish it immediately; we have some worthy Characters among us, but I fear they are not sufficiently known, and have too little of the public confidence to render their election certain. From this consideration I have determined to persevere, considering it absolutely necessary at this time for the *defence & furtherance* of the Epl. Ch. in Virginia. I am persuaded a great majority of the Convention mean well, & I trust will endeavour to give it all the support they can. They have recommended to the Parishes to supply their quotas of money immediately; and I shall embark for England as soon as they send enough to pay the Expenses of the Voyage, unless you and Bp. Provoost shall pronounce it unnecessary. As to the rest, I submit it to God, with full confidence in his promises that He will not forsake either his Church or his faithful servants. I must beg you to let me hear from you as soon as you have determined upon the answer to be given to the Standing Commee.

* * * * *

With respectful remembrance to Mrs. White I remain
Your affecte. Hu'ble. Servt.

D. Griffith.

Fairfax Glebe, 12th June, 1788.

Dear Sir,^e

The expected information from Richmond was, as is usually the case with my letters, long in coming to hand; and the enclosed, from Mr. Balmain,^f containing the whole of what was done there, I send for your satisfaction.

Mr. Woodville^g has, probably, informed you that I did not go to the Convention. I declined it from a persuasion that, as nothing of importance was to be proposed, except the *support of the Episcopate* very few would attend. The event proved that I was right in my conjecture. The letter mentioned by Mr. Balmain, as returned to me, was written to the President to inform him of my resolution to decline the Epis-

^ePerry, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 362-63. Note that Perry gives an incorrect date. This letter refers to the diocesan convention called for May, 1788, (which was not held, and so could not have been written in January).

^fRev. Alexander Balmaine, Chaplain 13th Virginia Regiment, and brigade chaplain, and, after 1785, rector of Frederick Parish, living at Winchester.

^gRev. John Woodville, ordained by Bishop White for Virginia May 18, 1788, and later rector of St. Mark's Parish, Culpeper.

copal Office—there being no Convention, and consequently no President, the Letter was returned unopened.

You will now, my dear Sir, I presume, conclude, with me, that (even if *I* had not determined to decline) Virginia is not to be depended on for the completion of our Ecclesiastical System, at least not in proper time, and with some risk of further inconveniencies. I have not any reason to believe that greater exertions will be made in favour of some other Person. I wish you may meet with more zeal and promptitude in this business from some of the neighbouring States: tho I confess, I am not very sanguine in my expectations on that score; However I am of opinion no time should be lost in making application.

As to calling a General Convention, I see no necessity for it until we are assured that some Person, nominated to the Episcopal Office, is willing and ready to depart for England. General Conventions should not be too frequent, and only *called* when absolutely necessary, otherwise, People, especially those who live at a distance, will be tired of the inconveniences attending them—their being too common will occasion them to be neglected, and we may, on pressing occasions, fail of getting such as are full and respectable. It is true, as Mr. Ball^h told you, that our Canons require a Deacon to continue such six months. But this can affect a Bishop of Virginia only; it would subject to very unreasonable hardships, Gentlemen who travel a great distance for Ordination.

* * * * *

With respectful compliments to Mrs. White, I am, Dr. Sir,
Your Affectionate Hu'ble. Servt.

David Griffith.

It would be very hard at this date, with the scarcity of records, to evaluate fully and satisfactorily the reasons of the failure of the Church in Virginia to send Dr. Griffith to England for consecration. It seems to be quite obvious that there were some who were opposed to him personally, but he seemed to think this a very small group. Without doubt there was a much larger group who did not want any bishop at all. Doubtless also the bitter antagonism of Presbyterians and Baptists made many would-be givers fear that the presence of a bishop would increase the hostility of these groups.

Perhaps the strongest reason of all, however, was the financial situation arising from the severe depreciation of Virginia currency. The formerly wealthy planters' class, to whom alone the Church could

^hRev. David Ball, ordained by Bishop White for Virginia May 18, 1788. After three years spent in Christ Church Parish, Lancaster, he went to Maryland and was rector of All Hallows' Parish, Worcester County until his death in 1813. (See Allen, *Clergy of Maryland*, p. 21.). In Perry the name is erroneously given as Bull.

look for gifts of any amount, were with very few exceptions financially prostrate. The Virginia pound, which before the Revolution had been valued at two-thirds of the English pound sterling, had declined in purchasing power as increasing amounts of paper money had been issued: so that by the end of 1781 the Virginia currency had ceased to be legal tender, and the continental currency was in about as bad shape. When Virginia undertook in 1782 to put its currency on a more stable basis by refunding it, such an increasing lack of ready money throughout the Commonwealth was caused that the people as a whole were in desperate poverty.⁵⁰

This condition grew steadily worse until the stabilization of the American currency after the organization of the government of the United States in April, 1789. The condition, complicated as it was by the large volume of debts owed by Virginia planters to British merchants still unsettled, and the slow revival of trade with Great Britain after seven years' interruption of war, was so serious that the Virginia people were emigrating by the thousands to the new lands of Kentucky, North Carolina and Georgia to start life afresh.

When Dr. Madison was elected Bishop in May, 1790, thirteen months had elapsed since the assembling of the first Congress of the United States, and during that period laws affecting the regulation of commerce had been adopted, a stable currency had been established and the Congress had determined to pay at face value the old Continental currency and the debts of the several states incurred during the Revolution. Unquestionably the financial situation was far sounder, and money was consequently more plentiful, and Madison profited by the improved conditions.

So ends the story of a man who rendered a great service to the Church of his adopted state but who, through force of circumstances beyond his control, failed of occupying the high position to which the people of his diocese elected him. He had won the friendship of men like Colonel Byrd of Westover and George Washington of Mount Vernon, and many more. It is unquestionable that his failure to secure consecration as the first bishop of Virginia was, as far as human wisdom can see, a calamity of great magnitude to the Church. For by the election of James Madison, overburdened college president as he was, the leadership of the Church was placed in the hands of one who was already laden beyond his strength with the duties of revival of a college that had been nearly wrecked by war, and who in consequence could give but little time to the duties of the episcopate. The conditions

⁵⁰Isaac Samuel Harrell; *Loyalism in Virginia*, page 113, et seq. "Between 1782 and 1787 petitions were sent to Richmond by the Sheriffs of 43 counties pleading their inability to collect taxes, and asking to be relieved of their bonds; all plead the scarcity of money and the poverty of the people".

of the times, the hostility of enemies and the need of establishing a diocesan organization and inspiring clergymen and laymen alike with new zeal, demanded the full time and strength of an able administrator. This Dr. Griffith could have given,—and Bishop Madison could not.

It will be perhaps fitting to close this sketch with the following cordial letter from the Marquis de Lafayette, written to Dr. Griffith when the news came of his election as bishop.⁵¹

Paris, December the 25th, 1786.

Dear Doctor,

I learn from the papers and wish I Had Heard from you that you are come to London, in order to Be Consecrated, a dignity to which you Have Been not a little prepared By our dissertations on Mrs. Washington's Bible at Mount Vernon—let this get to Hand before or after the Ceremony, I will nevertheless stick to the old stile of a Brother Soldier of yours, and it is singular enough that after you Have Been presented by a presbyterian plenipotentiary Minister, the first American officer whose Congratulatory letter reaches you, is one who is Himself suspected of a very strong tincture of presbyterianism. I Hope, my dear Doctor, you do not question the part I take in everything that Concerns you, and let it be on the field of Brandwine, under the Hutts at Valley Forge, in the Comfortable House of our Beloved friends Mr. and Mrs. Washington, or upon this solemn Occasion, I have ever Been, and shall Be, Your sincere friend and Admirer. — it would Be a very Rational and clever thing in you to pay a visit to Paris, where Mde de Lafayette and Myself will be happy to welcome you. There is a packet sailing from the Havre de Grace By the middle of February—perhaps it might Be an inducement to you and Doctors Provoost and White to whom I Beg you to pay My compliments — With most sincere and Affectionate Regard I have the Honour to be

Dear Doctor

Your Obedient Humble Servant

Lafayette.

The Right Reverend Father in God
Doctor Griffith at His Excellency
Mr. Adams's plenipotentiary Minister from
The United States Portman Square
London

⁵¹*Virginia Seminary Magazine, Vol. IV, p. 66, December, 1890.*

THE PART OF DR. ROUTH IN DR. SEABURY'S CONSECRATION

By Clinton Rogers Woodruff

FEW American Churchmen realize or appreciate the service that Dr. Routh, the president of Magdalen College, Oxford, from 1791 to 1854, rendered to the American Church in the matter of the consecration of Bishop Seabury. When Dr. Seabury landed in England on July 7, 1783, Martin Joseph Routh was not yet twenty-nine years old, having been born September 18, 1755. But he was already well known for his learning. In a most interesting chapter on "Dr. Routh and the American Church" in his authoritative life of the Doctor,¹ R. D. Middleton gives the details of Routh's part in Dr. Seabury's consecration at the hands of the bishops of the Scottish Episcopal Church. Since two distinguished historians² of the American Episcopal Church have denied that Routh had any real influence in the matter, it will be worth-while to review the evidence presented by Middleton and present some which he does not include.

Dr. J. R. Bloxam, a well known contemporary of Dr. Routh, after commenting on the difficulty experienced by the American Church in her attempt to secure an American episcopate, stated:

While these embarrassments were severing the Church of England from the colony, the Danish Church, which had only Presbyterian orders to offer, with well-meant piety offered to stand in the gap. At this critical juncture Mr. Routh was invited by Bishop Thurlow to a party at his house in London, where he met Dr. Cooper, President of a College at New York, and a friend of Seabury, who was seeking consecration. He succeeded in impressing Dr. Cooper with the fact, well understood now, but then not so patent, that the Danish succession was invalid. Bishop Lowth who happened to be present confirmed his statement, and Seabury,

¹R. D. Middleton, "Dr. Routh," *Oxford University Press*, 1938. Pp. 48-64.

²Dr. E. E. Beardsley, author of "The Life of Bishop Seabury," ridiculed the idea in the "Guardian", October 30, 1878. William Stevens Perry, in his "History of the American Episcopal Church," Vol. II, p. 52, stated: "It is a most unfortunate blunder to give the credit of this idea to the venerable President of Magdalen College, Oxford, the Rev. Dr. Routh, who, in extreme old age, laid claim to its suggestion."

in consequence, acting on the sagacious counsel of Mr. Routh, applied to the Scottish Church whose orders are unimpeachable, and was consecrated soon after.³

Dean Burgon, in his "Lives of Twelve Good Men",⁴ gives an account which appears to have been the second stage in the proceedings, Seabury not having been present at the former discussion:

Dr. Seabury, whose endeavours with the English Bishops were of necessity unsuccessful, was directed (by Lord Chancellor Thurlow) to repair to Routh at Oxford, with a view to consulting the learned Divine as to the best source for obtaining valid Consecration, and especially as to the validity of the Danish Succession: Seabury having been himself persuaded in London that he might safely apply to the Bishops of that country. The President of Magdalen was known in after years to refer with excusable satisfaction to his own share in that (and the earlier) memorable interview. "I ventured to tell them, sir, that *they would not find there what they wanted.*" He convinced his auditory on both occasions that the Scandinavian sources—including Norwegian and Swedish as well as Danish,—were not trustworthy. It was Routh in short who effectually dissuaded Seabury from the dangerous project: strongly urging upon him at the same time the unimpeachable claims of the *Scottish* Episcopate,—“of whose succession there is no doubt.”

That Routh himself claimed to have had a very real part in dissuading Seabury from the Danish project and encouraging him in pursuing the Scottish objective, cannot be disputed. It is attested by too many contemporary conversations with Routh on the subject. One of the most interesting is that of Dr. A. Cleveland Coxe, later bishop of Western New York, who visited England in 1851 and, in his "Impressions of England", stated that he had seen the Duke of Wellington and Samuel Rogers, but—

There was one whom I desired to see besides, and on some accounts, with deeper interest, to complete my hold upon the surviving past. For sixty years had Dr. Routh been president of Magdalen, and still his faculties were strong, and actively engaged in his work. I saw him in his 97th year; and it seemed as if I had gone back a century, or was talking with a revered divine, of the olden time, who had stepped out of a picture-frame. He sat in his library, in gown and bands, wearing a wig, and altogether impressing me as the

³J. R. Bloxam, "The Magdalen College Register, The Demies," Vol. IV., p. 11. (Quoted by Middleton, pp. 48-49)

⁴J. W. Burgon, Vol. I., p. 33. (Quoted by Middleton, p. 55)

most venerable figure I had ever beheld. Nothing could exceed his cordiality and courtesy, and though I feared to prolong my visit, his earnestness in conversation more than once repressed my endeavor to rise. He remembered our colonial clergy, and related the whole story of Bishop Seabury's visit, and of his application to the Scottish Church, which Dr. Routh himself first suggested. "And now," said I, "we have thirty Bishops and 1500 clergy." He lifted his aged hands and said, "I have indeed lived to see wonders" and he added devout expressions of gratitude to God, and many inquiries concerning our Church. I had an introduction to him from Rev. Dr. Jarvis, and at the same time, announced the death of that lamented scholar and divine, whose funeral I had attended a few days before I sailed from America. He spoke of him with affection and regret, and also referred to his great regard for Bishop Hobart. I could not say farewell to such a patriarch in the meaningless forms of ordinary intercourse, and as I rose to depart, I craved his blessing, and humbly knelt to receive it. He placed his venerable hand upon my head and said "God Almighty bless you, for Jesus Christ's sake," and so I took my departure, with my heart full, and with tears in my eyes.

The vicar of the parish in which Dr. Routh lived (St. Peter's in the East, Oxford) was Edward Hobhouse, later Bishop of Nelson, New Zealand. He attended the General Convention of 1853 with the S. P. G. deputation and took with him as a present from Dr. Routh a copy of the latter's last publication, *Tres Breves Tractatus*, as a token of his deep interest in the American Church ever since 1783 when Seabury had come to England seeking consecration and Routh had advised him to go to Scotland. According to Burgon,⁵ when Hobhouse returned, Routh sent for him and "inquired with the keenest interest of the proceedings of Convention." He repeated the facts relating to his share in Seabury's consecration by the Scottish bishops, as stated above:

"And expressed his joy at hearing that the infant over whose birth he had watched, had grown to be so prolific a mother. His interest in the whole business was surprisingly lively. . . . At the end of this amazing span of years he finds himself transmitting a message to the President of 40 Bishops."

When, almost thirty years later, Routh's part in Seabury's consecration was being denied and ridiculed, Bishop Hobhouse wrote

⁵J. W. Burgon, "*Lives of Twelve Good Men*," Vol. I., p. 103. (Quoted in Middleton, p. 57.)

the *Guardian* under date of December 22, 1882, stating that the following were facts:

1. That Dr. Seabury did visit Dr. Routh in Oxford.
2. That he was sent thither by Lord Chancellor Thurlow to consult Dr. Routh about the validity of the Danish succession.
3. That Dr. S. had been persuaded in *London* to apply to the Danish Bishops and that Dr. Routh succeeded in dissuading him, in favour of the Scottish.
4. That though Dr. Routh was only 28 and a deacon, he was known as a learned man.—Lord Thurlow knew him through his clergyman brother, Mr. Thurlow.
5. That Dr. Routh lived in my parish, and often talked to me on such subjects. In 1853, when sailing for America with the S. P. G. Deputation to attend the General Convention, Dr. Routh sent a book and message to be presented by me to the presiding Bishop. On that occasion he recited the above facts as the cause of his special interest in the Church of the United States; and he repeated them on my return.
6. There was no failure whatever in his unexampled powers of memory, even in his 100th year.

You may find it as hard to believe this, as to believe that at 28 he had acquired the position of an oracle in certain departments of learning: both facts are certain. His mental history is unparalleled.⁶

Dr. W. J. Seabury, great-grandson of the Bishop and one of his more recent biographers,⁷ was willing to give Dr. Routh proper credit, although he misinterprets the nature of the claim. Neither Dean Burgon nor Dr. Routh himself claimed that the suggestion of the resort to the Scottish episcopate first emanated from the latter; it was only that Routh had maintained that the Danish succession was invalid and had strongly urged upon Seabury "the unimpeachable claims of the Scottish Episcopate."

"Dean Burgon, whose judgment on all points is worthy of the most respectful consideration, affirms very positively that the suggestion of the resort to the Scottish Bishops was *first* made to Dr. Seabury by the venerable Dr. Routh,⁸ President of Magdalen College, Oxford, then a young man of twenty-nine, but then, as always, a prodigy of learning; and that Dr. Routh at the same time disabused the mind of Dr. Seabury as to the validity of the Danish succession. It is pos-

⁶Quoted in *Middleton*, pp. 58-59.

⁷W. J. Seabury, "Memoir of Bishop Seabury," New York, 1908; p. 224.

⁸Dr. W. J. Seabury is in error in stating the claim in this way. See introduction to this quotation above.

sible that Dr. Seabury at that time was not as accurately informed in regard to the Danish succession as Dr. Routh was; and that the stricture of Dr. Routh may have removed from Dr. Seabury's mind any question which might have arisen there as to a resort to that succession, which it was understood at the time might have been imparted. It is possible also that Dr. Routh's reference to the Scottish succession might have been received by Dr. Seabury as a renewed assurance of what he had already understood, and of what he knew the Connecticut Clergy were already aware of. But, considering his former residence in Scotland, and his former associations with the Church there, it seems hardly probable that Dr. Seabury then for the first time learned of the existence and validity of its Episcopal succession. However, it certainly does not seem that he thought himself bound by the Connecticut instructions to resort to Scotland; and it certainly is proved that Dr. Routh suggested that resort; and the reader, if he is curious enough to consult Dean Burgon's account of the matter will at least find it most interesting and instructive, and may determine the questions raised according to his own judgment."

Why then, in view of the above evidence which was available to both Drs. Beardsley and Perry, were they so dogmatic in refusing to allow any credit to Dr. Routh in Seabury's going to Scotland for consecration? Because they were both befogged by the famous Fogg letter.⁹ This letter was written under date of July 14, 1783 (one week after Seabury landed in England) by the Reverend Daniel Fogg of Pomfret, Connecticut, to the Reverend Samuel Parker of Boston (later bishop of Massachusetts), which letter Perry rescued from the Parker papers about to be burned. The last paragraph of the letter reads:

"The clergy have even gone so far as to instruct Dr. Seabury, if none of the regular Bishops of the Church of England will ordain him, to go down to Scotland and receive ordination from a nonjuring Bishop. . . ."

It can be admitted at once: first, that the Connecticut clergy knew of the existence of the Scottish Episcopal Church¹⁰; second, that they believed the Scottish orders were valid; and third, that they

⁹For this letter in full, see HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, Vol. II (June, 1933) p. 31.

¹⁰But, as we shall see later, Bishop Charles Rose of Scotland refused to participate in Seabury's consecration, stating, among other reasons: "It is a great question with me if the Clergy (of Connecticut) knew that there was an Episcopal Church in Scotland."

intended that Seabury should be instructed to go there for consecration if he failed in his mission in England.

But the plain fact is that *Seabury never received any instructions to go to Scotland for consecration*, and this is so overwhelmingly evident from his letters to the Connecticut clergy and from the letters of the Scottish bishops to one another, that it is now beyond dispute to any impartial student. Moreover, it is the opinion of Dr. W. J. Seabury, the bishop's great-grandson and biographer:

"It is very difficult to reconcile the expressions in Dr. Seabury's letters to Connecticut, in reference to his application to the Scottish Bishops, with a consciousness on his part of an obligation to follow instructions already received to resort to Scotland in case of his failure in England. Mr. Fogg's letter, above quoted, plainly asserts that the Connecticut Clergy had instructed Dr. Seabury if he could not obtain consecration in England to seek it in Scotland: yet Dr. Seabury repeatedly submits the question of such procedure to the Connecticut Clergy, as if he had received no instructions. Either the instructions had not in fact been communicated to him, although the Convention ordered that they should be; or he had not remembered them; or he thought that the members of the Convention ought to have another and later opportunity of expressing their will if it had remained unchanged."¹¹

From the context of the letters, however, the second and third possibilities are pretty clearly ruled out, and the first was the true state of the case, namely, "the instructions in fact had not been communicated to him." It must be remembered that he was not present at the convention which designated him as one of their candidates for the episcopate (Leaming being the other), and the secretary (the Reverend Abraham Jarvis) was delegated to communicate the convention's actions to him and to arrange all details.

Mr. Middleton, Dr. Routh's biographer, makes use of Volumes I and II of HISTORICAL MAGAZINE in writing his chapter on "Dr. Routh and the American Church." We are mystified as to why he did not use Volume III (1934) which contains all known extant letters of Dr. Seabury during this period and several of the Scottish bishops never before published. They would have proved to the hilt one part of his case, i. e., that Seabury never received any instructions to go to Scotland. These letters prove beyond a doubt that Seabury went to Scotland on his own judgment and responsibility, fortified by the opinions of friends in England, but without any instructions from the Connecticut clergy having been received by him;

¹¹W. J. Seabury, *Memoir of Bishop Seabury*, pp. 223-24.

and, further, that three of the Scottish bishops agreed to consecrate him without his having any such instructions from the Connecticut clergy, and the fourth bishop, Charles Rose, refused to participate in the consecration because he had none.

Seabury had not been in England a month before he realized that he might never be consecrated by the English bishops. By October, 1783, he was almost convinced of it and had already canvassed the possibilities of consecration elsewhere. The three other channels were: (1) the Danish bishops; (2) the English Non-Jurors; (3) the Scottish bishops. It was probably well before the end of the year 1783 that he had been set straight by Routh as to all of them: the first channel was invalid; the second irregular; the third absolutely sound and free from contestibility.

The first hints of what was in his mind should he be refused by the English bench are found in his letter to the Reverend Jeremiah Leaming, dated London, October 20, 1783.¹² After summarizing the objections made by the archbishops, he writes:

To these objections I have made the best reply I could and the Abp of Cant. has answered me that he will consult the Crown Lawyer, & the Bench of Bishops when they come to town in November: So that I suppose I shall know the final determination about Christmas. This determination I think will be against me. Indeed I have been so persuaded that I should not proceed in the way proposed, ever since my return from Scotland, that had I not thought it my duty to examine & see whether there was no other possible chance of obtaining that Episcopate which is so absolutely necessary for the existence of our Church, in the States of America, I should certainly have returned to you with Capt. Coupar.

After urging that they find out if the State of Connecticut had any objection to him or any one else coming there as a bishop, which was one of the major obstacles raised by the archbishops, he goes on to say,

If they think that an improvident plan, they must let me know whether they can give me positive assurances of a decent support from the Churches there, & what that support would certainly amount to—because should the Non-Jurors or any foreign bishop be applied to, I could expect no support from the Society [the S. P. G.], or any other way from hence.

The Connecticut clergy met in Wallingford on January 13, 1784, to consider the matter, appointed a committee consisting of Leaming, Jarvis, and Bela Hubbard, to consult with the state authorities, and

¹²For the letter in full, see HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, III., 163-65.

this committee wrote Seabury under date of February 5, 1784. Since he did not reply to it until April 30th, it must not have reached him until shortly before that date. In the meantime, he appears to have entered into negotiations with the Scottish bishops, which he now ceased to push because of the favorable news from the civil authorities in Connecticut to the effect that they would not object to a bishop in their midst.

On May 24th, 1784, he wrote Jarvis, the secretary of the Connecticut convention, from London.¹³ Why should he ask for instructions about going to Scotland if he had already received them?

But if I had the Act of your State which you refer to in your letter, I should be able to bring the matter to a crisis, & it would be determined one way or the other. And as it is attended with uncertainty whether I shall succeed here, I have in two or three letters to Mr. Leaming, requested to know, whether in case of failure here, it would be agreeable to the Clergy in Connecticut that I should apply to the Nonjuring Bps. in Scotland, who have been sounded & declare their readiness to carry the business into Execution. I hope to receive Instructions on this head by the next arrival, & in the mean time must watch actions as they rise.

On June 26, 1784, he wrote again to Jarvis:

I have had opportunities of consulting some very respectable clergymen in this matter, and their invariable opinion is, that should I be disappointed here, where the business has been so fairly, candidly, and honorably pursued, it would become my duty to obtain Episcopal consecration wherever it can be had, and that no exception could be taken here at my doing so. The Scotch succession was named. It was said to be equal to any succession in the world, &c. There I know consecration may be had. But with regard to this matter, I hope to hear from you in answer to a letter I wrote to Mr. Leaming, I think in April. Should I receive any instructions from the clergy of Connecticut, I shall attend to them; if not, I shall act according to the best advice I can get, and my own judgment.¹⁴

Having received no instructions one way or another from the Connecticut clergy, and determined to wait no longer in view of the break-down in the English plan, Seabury wrote Dr. Myles Cooper from London on August 31st, 1784, asking him to take up the negotiations with the Scottish bishops where they had been left off:¹⁵

¹³*Hist. Mag.*, III., 171-173, for letter in full.

¹⁴*Hist. Mag.*, III., 173-74.

¹⁵*Hist. Mag.*, III., 179-81.

I have been for some time past, and yet am, in daily expectation of hearing from Connecticut, but (there) have been no late arrivals, nor will I wait for any provided I hear any favorable account from you, but shall hold myself in readiness to set off for the North at twenty-four hours' notice. With regard to myself, it is not my fault that I have not done it before, but I thought it my duty to pursue the plan marked out for me by the clergy of Connecticut, as long as there was any probable chance of succeeding. That probably [probability] is now at an end, and I think myself at liberty to pursue such other scheme as shall insure to them a valid Episcopacy, and such I take the Scotch Episcopacy to be in every sense of the word; and such I know the clergy of Connecticut consider it, and have always done so; but the connection that has always subsisted between them and the Church of England, and the generous support they have hitherto received from that Church, naturally led them, though no longer a part of the British dominions, to apply to that Church in the first instance for relief in their spiritual necessity.

According to the above statement the clergy of Connecticut had one plan for him to follow—consecration by the English bishops. That plan having failed, he thought himself “at liberty to pursue such other scheme as shall insure to them a valid Episcopacy.” Nothing here about being instructed by his brethren in Connecticut to seek consecration in Scotland if he failed in England. He knows, to be sure, that the Connecticut clergy considered the Scottish episcopate to be perfectly valid, but for all that he is very uneasy about the step he is to take because the Connecticut clergy had expressed no opinion about it to him, as the portion of the letter we now quote will show. One week later, September 7, 1784, and only a little more than two months before his consecration, in a long letter to Jarvis from London,¹⁶ he confesses that having had “no approbation of such a step from the Cont Clergy,” *he fears they might not receive him as their bishop*. It must be remembered that this letter was written to the secretary of the Connecticut convention, and was virtually an official report.

And as all chance of succeeding here was at an end, I thought myself justifiable in endeavoring to introduce into Connecticut, a valid and clear Episcopacy from another quarter. I therefore wrote to Scotland, to try to renew a treaty which had proceeded pretty far when I received the Act you sent me. But as this Act made so great an impression on the Abp. & he appeared so confident of carrying the point, I thought it my duty to abide the issue, & so the Scotch treaty was suspended. This I find has given some umbrage

¹⁶*Hist. Mag.*, III., 175-179.

there, but I hope to get over it, & expect to hear from them in a short time. *On this subject I wrote several times, last winter & spring, to you and Mr Leaming & hoped to have received some directions before this time, but have been disappointed. I have therefore acted on my own judgment, & on such advice as I could get here.* I have consulted several American & English clergymen, & two lay members of the Society. They all without exception concurred in my sentiments, & urged me to pursue the scheme. The event will depend on my next letters from Edinburgh. *One embarrassment, even should they consent to renew the treaty, I fear. I have no approbation of such a step from the Cont Clergy, nor any assurance that they will receive such a Bp. But this I must try to get over should it be made an objection.* (Italics ours).

Nothing could be clearer from the above than that the view that the Connecticut clergy were responsible for, and are to be credited with, the plan for Seabury to go to Scotland for consecration, if he failed in his efforts in England, is another historical myth. Moreover, some of them (the convention's committee probably), if Fogg stated truly the intentions of the convention, are responsible for needless delay in Seabury's consecration and for unnecessary anxiety on Seabury's mind and heart by not informing him before he sailed from New York what those intentions were, should he fail in England. If he had known what Fogg says he was supposed to have been told, Seabury probably would have gone through with the original negotiations with the Scottish bishops and not allowed them to drop out of conscientious adherence to a plan which was presented to him without any such alternative as the Connecticut convention, according to Fogg, intended. Even Seabury's repeated requests for instructions in the face of the probable failure of the English scheme and the optimistic possibilities of consecration at Scottish hands went unheeded. There was evidently gross mismanagement or inexcusable delay on the Connecticut end. Only Seabury's dogged perseverance, courage, and good judgment, coupled with the sound advice and hearty support of Dr. Routh and Seabury's other English and American friends in England, together with the magnanimity of the three Scottish bishops who forgave the suspension of the first negotiations and waived the lack of any express approval by the Connecticut convention, saved the day. For it is to be noted as our final piece of evidence, that Bishop Charles Rose, dour and irascible from bitter persecution, refused to participate in Seabury's consecration because he had no recommendation to the Scotch bishops from the Connecticut clergy. This new evidence was discovered in the Aberdeen archives within the last ten years and pub-

lished for the first time in HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.¹⁷ Rose was miffed, first of all, because Seabury following instructions, had sought consecration at the hands of the English bishops first, treating the Scotch bishops as second fiddle. "Had he succeeded in England," says Rose, "he would never sought (sic) after the Bp^s of Scotland." Rose was writing to Bishop Petrie and after quoting that portion of Seabury's letter to Cooper which the latter had relayed to the bishops, and which we have already quoted above, he states:

"Now, if the Clergy of Connecticut had always looked upon Scottish Episcopacy as Valid why did not D^r Seabury get a recommendation to the Scotch Bishops, as well as to the English, nay rather to them, than to the English, for you see he has failed in England. . . . It is a great question with me if the Clergy know that there was an Episcopal Church in Scotland. Besides we have nothing but his *ipse Dixit* for all he says, and the only recommendation he has is D^r Cooper and his own."

This letter was dated October 26, 1784—only twenty days before Seabury's consecration. It was not his fault, as we have seen, that he did not have a recommendation from the Connecticut clergy to the Scottish bishops. In view of the Fogg letter and in view of Seabury's repeated requests for instructions in the turn events were taking, this lack of a recommendation from the Connecticut clergy was the fault of their convention or the convention's committee. For it must be remembered that the convention had met again at Wallingford on January 13, 1784, to deliberate on ways and means of overcoming Seabury's difficulties with the English bench and ministry. Why did not the convention take the opportunity to instruct him then, or to repeat its previous instructions, that he should go to Scotland if the English plan failed? In the committee's reply to Seabury under date of February 5, 1784, there is no hint of this alternative.

Certain definite conclusions can now be reached in this matter:

1. The commonly held view that the Connecticut clergy and their convention were responsible for, and are to be credited with, Seabury's going to Scotland to receive episcopal orders, is another historical myth. Whatever their directions were in the matter, he never received them until too late to do more than to encourage him in the step he already had under way for bringing the episcopate to Connecticut.

The Churchman's Magazine, Vol. III, 1806, page 276, which had previously published some of the Seabury letters, states that there

¹⁷Vol. III (1934), pp. 234-261. Rose's letter is on pp. 239-41.

was a letter from the clergy of Connecticut instructing Seabury to proceed to Scotland for consecration. Although Abraham Jarvis, secretary of the convention in 1783 which elected Seabury, was himself the bishop of Connecticut at the time this volume of the above magazine appeared, the letter was not published and has never been discovered. But by piecing together the surviving evidence at our command we can assess this statement pretty accurately and it will not bear the weight of "instructing Seabury to go to Scotland for consecration."

On October 14, 1784, from London, exactly one month before his consecration, Seabury wrote the *primus* of the Church in Scotland, Bishop Kilgour:¹⁸

Right Revd. Sir,

Three days ago [October 11th] I was made happy by the receipt of a letter from my friends in Edinburg, inclosing one from you to the Rev^d Mr. John Allan, signifying the consent of the Bishops in Scotland to convey, through me, the blessing of a free, valid and purely ecclesiastical Episcopacy to the Western world. . . .

I propose, through the favor of God's good providence, to be at Aberdeen by the 10th of November, and shall there wait the convening of the Bishops who have so humanely taken this matter under their management. . . .

Under date of January 5, 1785, from London, Dr. Seabury, now a bishop, wrote Leaming, Jarvis and Hubbard, the committee of the Connecticut convention:¹⁹

It is with great pleasure that I now inform you, that my business here is perfectly completed in the best way that I have been able to transact it. Your letter, and also a letter from Mr. Leaming, which accompanied the act of your Legislature, certified by Mr. Secretary Wyllys, overtook me at Edinburgh, in my journey to the North, and not only gave me great satisfaction, but were of great service to me.

I met with a very kind reception from the Scotch Bishops, who having read and considered such papers as I laid before them, consisting of the copies of my original letters and testimonial, and of your subsequent letters, declared themselves perfectly satisfied, and said they conceived themselves called upon, in the course of God's Providence, without any regard to any human policy, to impart a pure, valid and free Episcopacy to the western world. . . .

Note the sequence of events. On October 11, 1784, Seabury re-

¹⁸*Hist. Mag.*, III., 182-83.

¹⁹*Hist. Mag.*, III., 188-90.

ceived information that the Scottish bishops had consented to consecrate him. Between that date and November 10th, when he arrived in Aberdeen, a letter from the Connecticut convention's committee, together with a letter from Leaming enclosing a certified copy of the act of the Connecticut legislature insuring the rights of all denominations, "overtook me at Edinburgh, in my journey to the North," obviously on his way to Aberdeen. The date he received these last named communications from Connecticut must have been nearer November 10th than October 14th. The news from home was reassuring. What was this news?

The answer is to be found in "The Minute Book" of the college of bishops in Scotland, giving an account of Dr. Seabury's consecration in great detail.²⁰ The consecration had been set for Sunday, November 14th, 1784, and the day before (Saturday), the three consecrators "convened at Aberdeen, where Dr. Seabury met them and laid before them the following letters and papers." The first four and the seventh were those which had already been submitted to the archbishop of Canterbury and the English bishops: (1) an attested copy of a letter from the clergy of Connecticut to the archbishop of York; (2) a copy of the letter from the clergy of New York to both archbishops; (3) a testimonial from the clergy of Connecticut and New York; (4) the letter from the committee of the clergy in Connecticut concerning the attitude of the legislative leaders towards the Episcopal Church and its bishop, if one should come to reside there; (7) the last item was a *certified* copy of the above-mentioned act of the Connecticut legislature. A copy of this act, but not a certified one, had been presented to the archbishop of Canterbury. The certified copy had only reached Seabury at Edinburgh on his way to Aberdeen.

Items five and six are of immediate concern to us, and we shall italicize the words of special interest to this paper:

"(5) A letter from the Committee of Convention in Connecticut to Dr. Seabury, amongst other things, *signifying their reliance on his zeal and fortitude to prosecute the affair in such way as he can*, and begging he will remember that, however glad they shall be to see him, and wish speed to the opportunity that may enable them to bid him a happy welcome, yet that his coming as a Bishop will only prevent its being an unhappy meeting. (6) A letter from Mr. Jarvis, Secretary of the Committee, to Dr. Seabury, accompanying the above letter, wherein Mr. Jarvis says, *you may depend upon it you will be kindly treated in this State, let your ordination come from what quarter it will.*"

²⁰H. G. Batterson, "*A Sketch Book of the American Episcopate*", (1884), pp. 22-34, where it is reprinted.

In view of the above, we submit that the following is clear: first, that Dr. Seabury had no letter of recommendation from the Connecticut clergy or their convention to the Scottish bishops themselves; they were, fortunately, big enough to waive that and accept those to York and Canterbury. Second, only by a euphemism can such phrases as that the Connecticut convention's committee signified "their reliance on his zeal and fortitude to prosecute the affair in such way as he can," and "you may depend upon it you will be kindly treated in this State, let your ordination come from what quarter it will," be called *instructions*. Even at this late date, the Connecticut clergy did *not* instruct Dr. Seabury to go to Scotland. They merely said: "Use your own judgment, but *get episcopal ordination somewhere*, and we will stand back of you."

For ourselves, we do not quarrel with the nature of their counsel, although it came too late in the day in view of all the circumstances and of Seabury's repeated calls for it. And it does not affect our thesis that *Seabury did not receive any instructions from the Connecticut clergy to go to Scotland for episcopal orders*. Their counsel, when it came, merely encouraged him on the last lap of the journey already begun on his own responsibility, and which he was in honor bound to finish by his own commitments. He now, at long last, had no fears that the Connecticut clergy might refuse to receive him as their bishop; neither would he have had to have any such fears if he had gone to Denmark or to the surviving English nonjurors, which, God be praised, he did not do.

2. There is no good reason to question that Dr. Routh advised Seabury against consecration at the hands of the Danish bishops and urged upon him "the unimpeachable claims of the Scottish episcopate."

3. Seabury's character and personality, in view of the evidence now available, stand out in even greater relief. It is now clear that he sought Scottish consecration on his own responsibility and without benefit of counsel or directions from his Connecticut colleagues. Except for the counsel and encouraging help of English and American advisers in England, he carried the project through single-handed. Without any recommendations to the Scottish bishops from the Connecticut clergy and against the machinations of the Reverend Dr. Smith and the malicious Seller letter,²¹ he won over the three necessary bishops of the Scottish episcopate. Concerning Seabury Bishop Skinner of Aberdeen wrote Bishop Petrie:²²

²¹For this letter in full, see *Hist. Mag.* III., 241-243.

²²*Hist. Mag.*, III., 245-46.

"He seems to be truly Pious in his Sentiments, fair open & candid in his Disposition, & without any of that Duplicity, which too often marks the Characters of those, who have much to do with this designing World."

Writing to the Primus, Bishop Kilgour, who was wavering under the Smith and Seller attack, Skinner said:²³

"In a word I cannot help considering the whole of this intelligence as a mean and silly artifice of some enemy to Dr. Seabury who secretly envies us the introducing such a worthy man into America, in the character of a Bishop, a character I am fully satisfied he is in every way qualified to support with honour to himself and all concerned with him. For if there be truth and candour in man I honestly declare I think it is in Dr. Seabury."

4. The magnanimity of the three Scottish bishops, and especially the sturdy championship of Dr. Seabury by Bishop Skinner, is praiseworthy. They were willing to forgive any slight involved in the suspension of the original negotiations and to forego the lack of specific recommendations of Seabury to them by the Connecticut clergy. They were able to separate the wheat from the chaff, to perceive the reality of the issues involved, and having seen, to act.

In conclusion something more needs to be said of Dr. Routh and his prodigious learning. He was a devoted member of the Church of England and is entitled to be called "England's grand old man." Born September 18, 1755, he died in his 100th year, December 22, 1854.

When he was thirty-three years old (1788), he issued a prospectus of what was to be his *magnum opus*, *Reliquiae Sacrae*. Its aim was to bring together and edit the shorter works and fragments of the Fathers of the second and third centuries. The first two volumes appeared in 1814, twenty-six years after the issue of the prospectus, when the editor was fifty-nine. In that year Dr. Samuel Parr declared: "No such work had appeared in England for a century."

Routh dedicated the work to the bishops and presbyters of the Scottish Episcopal Church when it was still feeble and still in need of encouragement. The bishops were delighted. Dr. Gleig, bishop of Brechin, wrote: "In my opinion it is the greatest honour that has been done to us since the death of Queen Anne."

Alexander Jolly, bishop of Moray, who as a young man had held

²³*Hist. Mag.*, III., 243-45.

the book at the consecration of Samuel Seabury, wrote: "To the shattered Remains of the Episcopal Church in Scotland no Compliment could be greater or more consolatory."

John Skinner, now the aged bishop of Aberdeen, champion and one of the three consecrators of Seabury, declared he could "say with truth, that though he had spent 50 years in the Service of our humble Church, he had never till now had the pleasure of seeing its Servants so highly distinguished as by the pen of the venerable Author of *Reliquiae Sacrae*."

In 1815 the third volume was published; in 1818, the fourth. A new edition of the four volumes came out in 1846. Not until 1848, sixty years after the appearance of the prospectus and when Routh was in his 94th year, was the work completed by the publication of the fifth volume.

Dr. Routh, president of Magdalen from 1791 to 1854, must surely rank as one of the most remarkable and interesting of all Oxford figures. As a patristic scholar he had a European reputation. Largely through him the Scottish Episcopal Church was brought out of its place of hiding. He was a friend and advocate of reunion with the Eastern Orthodox Church. The American Church must be forever grateful that to him the future first American bishop, Dr. Seabury, turned for sound advice in the establishment of a "free, valid and purely ecclesiastical episcopacy." Surely a remarkable career!

EDWARD RANDOLPH WELLES: 1830-1888

BISHOP OF WISCONSIN

By Edward Randolph Welles, II.

EDWARD RANDOLPH WELLES, second son of Gardner Welles, M. D., and Paulina Fuller Welles, was born on January 10th, 1830, at Waterloo, Seneca County, New York. His father, who came from an old Church family in Connecticut, was a physician of wide reputation for professional skill and good judgment, was one of the curators of Geneva Medical College, and took high rank in the medical societies to which he belonged. His mother was a native of Massachusetts.

Edward received his early education at the Waterloo Academy, where he had the good fortune to find himself one of a group of students conspicuous for their intellectual ambition and scholarly enthusiasm. After being graduated first in his year, he entered the sophomore class at Hobart College in 1847 and received his degree in 1850.

Not long after leaving Hobart he entered the office of a prominent lawyer at Waterloo to study law, having first expressed the opinion: "that whatever life work he might finally undertake, it would do him no harm to study the science of law for a while." At the end of a year of study, he informed his law teacher that, after much reflection upon the subject, his convictions of duty were impelling him to give himself to the ministry of the Church. That lawyer later recorded his opinion of young Welles by saying: "He was a model man in all the relations of life, quiet, peaceful, deliberate, self-poised, and firm in his convictions when formed."

Edward was not confirmed until some months after his decision to seek holy orders. It is, perhaps, an indication of the deliberation with which he faced the important decisions of his whole life. Having come to feel at twenty-one that God's will was for him to dedicate his life to the sacred priesthood, he spent about nine months receiving confirmation instructions from his rector, the Reverend Mr. Livermore. At the age of twenty-two, on March 7th, 1852, he was confirmed by Bishop De Lancey, of Western New York.

In the autumn of 1852 he entered the family of the Hon. John Magee, a former member of Congress and prominent citizen of Bath, New York, as tutor to his children. On October 1st, 1853, he became a

candidate for holy orders. During that winter, in addition to his tutorial duties, he studied theology under the direction of the Rev. Dr. Wilson, then a professor of Hobart College, who had prepared many for the ministry, including Bishops Neely and Paret.

Mr. Welles, in the summer of 1854, accepted the invitation of the Rt. Rev. William Mercer Green, bishop of Mississippi, to take charge of a select school for girls at Vicksburg. His holograph diary (in two volumes) covering the period of his journey from Waterloo to Vicksburg and the two years spent at the latter city, is in the possession of the writer of this sketch. The young principal's departure for his new charge was delayed for some weeks because of the prevalence of yellow fever in the South. When this scourge had subsided sufficiently to permit the opening of the school, he left his home on November 21st. He saw the Ohio state house in process of construction at Columbus. Leaving the railroad at Cincinnati, he made the remainder of the journey by steamboat down the Ohio and the Mississippi Rivers. Above Louisville the boat ran on to a sand bar and stuck fast. The men boarded a barge which was quickly brought alongside and thus lightened the steamer from the bar sufficiently to permit the boat to proceed. Seven miles below Cairo their boat again struck a bar and remained fast for so many hours that finally the passengers found it necessary to transfer to another steamer. Edward was delighted to observe a flock of swans on the Mississippi, and surprised to find that the bill of fare included venison and opossum.

Vicksburg was reached on December 4th. The school year opened auspiciously, if late. The diary records that on Christmas Day the parish church was decorated with ivy, arbor vitae, laurel, magnolia and cedar. Much of the diary is taken up with the writer's reflections on the Christian religion and its implications and applications for men of his day. This note is especially apparent in the entries connected with the great holy days of the Christian Year, and shows that a full three years before his ordination to the diaconate, the young man's thoughts were largely occupied with religion. He notes that the Southern boys and young men celebrate Christmas "in the manner in which 'Young America' keep Independence Day at home. During the night of Christmas Eve and throughout the day there was the continual report of fire-arms in the principal streets of the city."

The hard times of 1837 are still apparent. There is no longer a bank in the city of Vicksburg and only one in the whole state of Mississippi.

The diary reveals the daily schedule of its author: "Rise in the morning at six; reading Scriptures and Devotions until seven; exercise, half an hour; breakfast at seven-thirty; school opens at eight-thirty; half-an-hour's exercise, walking, and lunch at twelve; school closes at

two-forty-five; dinner at three; study hour begins at five-thirty; after study hours proper: writing in journal, reading Psalms for the day or Proper Lessons, and Prayers."

"This week (in 1855) Jefferson Davis, the present United States Secretary of War, addressed the citizens of Vicksburg at Apollo Hall. The Hall was densely thronged. He is a man of rather small stature, firmly knit and well proportioned, with an earnest, serious face, and an expression thoughtful, and, at this time, evidently care-worn. His manner is pleasingly calm and dignified. I should judge that he is about forty-five years of age. Davis spoke as the Counsel of the Administration, the friend and apologist of the vetoes and recommendations of the President. He spoke with earnestness and evident sincerity, but the requirements of his position were manifest in his argument. In that portion of his speech referring to Cuba, Col. Davis labored to show that the policy of the Administration was entirely favorable to its acquisition. He concluded his speech (a very lame and unconvincing conclusion) with a vindication of the pro-slavery antecedents and determined policy of President Pierce and his Cabinet."

The future bishop took frequent occasion at Vicksburg to cultivate his love of horses and to exercise his ability as a rider. During his summer vacation at Waterloo, he spent three weeks in September, 1855, as "one of a sporting party, walking and camping in northern New York. We had a glorious time: hunted deer and fished."

On his journey back to Vicksburg that autumn, one of his fellow passengers on the steamboat from St. Louis proved to be Bishop Hopkins of Vermont. The impression which the bishop of Vermont made on a complete stranger, and recorded at the time, is worth repeating:

"The Bishop was very affable and we all enjoyed his society. He was very fond of music and on one or two occasions assisted in a quartette. Often in conversation the Bishop alluded to the distinctive differences of our Church, always speaking in a firm but mild and un-authoritative manner. His manner, equally with his words, was calculated to leave a favorable impression upon the minds of those who have been inclined to regard Bishops as ministers who unrighteously 'lord it over God's heritage'. His personal appearance was very prepossessing and his presence peculiarly pleasing. On Sunday morning the Bishop read service and preached in the Ladies' Cabin to an attentive congregation. There were about six Church people on board and with the kind assistance of our musical friends we chanted all the anthems and hymns except the Te Deum. The Discourse of the Bishop related to the duties of a holy life, and was admirable in manner and matter. When

the request to preach was mentioned to him on Saturday evening he laughingly replied 'that the steamer Crystal Palace was not in his diocese, but if no good Methodist or Presbyterian brother was on board, he would do his duty as a Christian Minister.'

On arrival in Vicksburg Mr. Welles learned that there were cases of yellow fever still in town and that there had been about two hundred deaths from the fever in the city that summer. Four of these were clergymen.

The literary hunger of the young man is evident in many places in the diary. One page records the arrival of *The Weekly Times* from the East in which the literary editor reviews Longfellow's latest work: "The Song of Hiawatha." "Compared with Evangeline the inferiority of Hiawatha is palpable and upon the whole the critic concludes that it is an experiment and a failure. I have not read the 'Song of Hiawatha', but hope to read it, if copies of it ever reach Vicksburg."

Mr. Welles enjoyed marked success in his work as principal of the school and formed many enduring friendships in Vicksburg. Yet those were days of much political excitement, and the relations of North and South were increasingly strained. It was at this period that he found it necessary to issue a printed circular letter to vindicate himself against a bitter, not to say scurrilous, article in a Vicksburg paper, based upon a casual remark he had let fall in company, to which the editor chose to apply a political construction. The letter shows a manliness and courage in expressing some opinions not popular in that latitude, especially on the repeal of the "Missouri Compromise", which even surprised some of his friends, but which, after all, thus early showed the stuff of which he was made, that enabled him to "stand like an anvil" amid the strife of tongues in the days of his episcopate. In the summer of 1856 he returned to Waterloo. When the new Deveaux College at Suspension Bridge, New York, opened in May, 1857, he became one of its teachers, a post he occupied until September, 1858. On December 20th, 1857, he was ordained deacon by Bishop De Lancey in Trinity Church, Geneva. During his diaconate, besides his college duties at Deveaux, he officiated regularly at the churches in Lewiston, Suspension Bridge, and Lockport.

On Christmas Day, 1857, the few Churchmen of Red Wing, Minnesota, met to form some sort of organization for future church work. At this meeting A. B. Hawley, M. D., a classmate and friend of the Reverend Edward Randolph Welles at Hobart, strongly urged that Mr. Welles be invited to come out to help them build up a parish. In June, 1858, Mr. Welles travelled to Red Wing to survey the opportunities which the invitation presented. At this time Red Wing was but a

hamlet on the banks of the Mississippi, and Minnesota but a missionary field, a part of the vast territory under the jurisdiction of Bishop Kemper. After full consideration Mr. Welles accepted the invitation of the Red Wing group to share in their pioneer task.

He returned to New York state, was ordained priest by Bishop De Lancey on September 12th, 1858, and on October 3rd commenced his work in the new field. He started from scratch; no foundations in the form of a mission station existed. At once he took the proper steps for the organization of a parish and on October 26th the parish of Christ Church came into being. The parish numbered seven communicants only, all of whom, save one, were women. For a year services were held in a rented hall. In the meantime a large lot, magnificently situated as later years have proved, was secured. A church, costing \$3,000, was built, which, as a free church, was consecrated November 29, 1859: the first church consecrated by Bishop Whipple.

In less than a decade the congregation outgrew this edifice. It was removed to the rear of the large lot, to be used as a parish house, and on June 24, 1869, the corner-stone of the present church was laid. The church, seating six hundred or more, was completed at a cost of \$24,000. When it was ready for occupancy there remained an unpaid debt of \$8,000. Having raised and paid towards it \$16,000, all the members of the parish felt that they must now, for a time, rest upon their oars. With this feeling, arrangements were made with the bishop, not for a consecration, but for an opening service. At a vestry meeting held a few days before the time appointed for that service, after the conclusion of the business for which it was called, Dr. Welles in his quiet way suggested: "Is it not possible for us to provide, in some form, for this \$8,000 of debt, so that the church can be consecrated?" Not a member of the vestry had any faith in a movement of the sort. All believed that a "breathing spell" was a necessity, and so expressed themselves. Yielding, however, to his wishes, and perhaps unconsciously imbibing a little of his faith, it was determined to make the effort, yet with the feeling that the task was well nigh hopeless. In this effort, Dr. Welles, in person, co-operated, and to the surprise of all, Dr. Welles excepted, in less than two days the unpromising task became an accomplished fact.

Almost at the beginning of his ministry at Red Wing, Mr. Welles inaugurated a daily service (December 5, 1859) and a weekday parish school. These, together with his incessant pastoral calling and the vigorous parish organizations which he instituted, formed the basis for the solid, steady growth of Christ Church. During the sixteen years of his rectorship he baptized 577, presented 263 for confirmation, and built the parish from seven to 192 communicants. Annual contributions

for outside purposes grew from \$11.25 to \$1,198.82. His work during those years was not confined to his parish; he was active in the diocese and above all was an ardent missionary. The surrounding country was untouched by the Church, so he established eleven mission stations (at Wabasha, Lake City, St. John's, Cannon Falls, Belle Creek, Wells Creek, Wacouta, Frontenac, Florence, Zumbrota, and Pine Island). During these years, and in part at least under supervision, parishes were organized and churches erected at Wabasha, Lake City, Canon Falls, Belle Creek, Zumbrota, and Pine Island, and a church built at Frontenac.

In 1860 Dr. Welles married Miss Mary Sprague of Fredonia, New York. They had two sons (Rev. Edward Sprague Welles and the Rev. Canon Samuel Gardner Welles) and two daughters (Harriet, and Pauline: Mrs. Edward Nelson).

On June 17, 1874, Dr. Welles, on the nomination of James de Koven of blessed memory, was elected bishop of Wisconsin. On the first ballot taken after his name was presented, he received the votes of all the laity and 69 of the 72 clergy. He was quite overwhelmed by this totally unexpected event. The election came at a time of great personal anxiety, as his wife's health was rapidly failing. She died on October 25th a few days before his consecration.

Edward Randolph Welles turned from the grave of his lovely wife to the duties of the episcopate with a more intense and complete consecration than would otherwise have been possible. During the next fourteen years he pursued the course of duty through frequent storms, with calm power and a heart ever at peace with God. Indeed, he came to Wisconsin at a time of storm and strife for the whole Church, for it was in that very year that a group had broken away to form the Reformed Episcopal Church.

The cathedral question came prominently before the American Church during the episcopate of Bishop Welles and he was largely identified with it. In later years he was frequently invited by brother bishops to speak in their dioceses on the subject. He inherited an unfinished cathedral project begun by his predecessors: Bishop Kemper of saintly memory, and the short-lived Armitage. The cathedral matter had been raised in the diocesan council under Bishop Kemper in 1865. The council of 1868 memorialized the General Convention on the subject, asking for such legislation as would admit of the establishment of a cathedral in Milwaukee for the diocese of Wisconsin. General Convention passed the legislation necessary to give the diocese full authority to establish a cathedral and act upon the see principle. It was the first action ever taken by that body in this matter.

For three years Bishop Welles maintained the situation as he found it. In 1877 a priest of the diocese proposed a canon designed to super-

sedes the see principle and cathedral organization. The proposed canon was not adopted, but while the bishop was in England attending the Lambeth Conference of 1878, twelve laymen of Milwaukee and their three rectors issued a public letter and a pamphlet attacking the bishop and opposing the cathedral scheme. These men represented a small, but articulate, minority in the diocese. Dr. de Koven wrote to the bishop telling him about the attack and assuring him that the vast majority of the clergy and laity would rally around the bishop as soon as he informed them what he wanted in regard to the cathedral. At the council held in November, 1878, an answer to the pamphlet of the three rectors was made by Dr. de Koven with the bishop's knowledge and consent. It exposed the misquotations from history, and the malicious subtlety of the document.

In February, 1879, the opposition from the three city parishes took the form of definite charges that "diversion of the General Mission Funds of the diocese was made to defray the expenses of the Cathedral staff and the necessary expenses of the Cathedral work." In reply the bishop published in the diocesan paper a full statement of all the appropriations for twenty years past, showing conclusively that the funds had, during all that time, been appropriated in strict accordance with the direction of the Board of Missions.

An amusing feature of the laymen's letter was a very indefinite charge against the bishop concerning what he *was going to do*. The bishop frankly admitted that against *such* a charge he was not able to make a defence.

The bishop now realized that his method of allowing the cathedral plan to develop itself by natural growth in practice, was no longer effective. It was necessary to crystallize the cathedral ideal in formal legislation in order to preserve and strengthen it. So at the council of 1879 the bishop, in an address marked by clear conviction and charitable restraint, advocated and outlined specific legislation, after describing the need and purpose of a cathedral. It was the address of a true Christian pastor and missionary. Nevertheless, two priests and one layman in turn proposed various canons regarding the cathedral which would have destroyed its essential purposes and principles. In the interests of peace, the bishop chose a representative committee of fourteen to study the conflicting proposals, and, if possible, make recommendations to the next annual council which would produce the desired results harmoniously. This was the critical point of what in those days was so often called "the cathedral war". The bishop undoubtedly could at the 1879 council have secured the passage of his cathedral legislation, but he preferred to wait until such passage could be accomplished with a minimum of strife.

The canon reported and proposed by the Committee of Fourteen

at the council of 1880 was tabled, and no action resulted in 1881. At the council of 1882 the bishop in his address made a full review of the subject of the cathedral from 1865 to that date. The Committee on Constitution and Canons presented legislation regarding the cathedral agreeable to the bishop, and this was adopted. At the close of the council the bishop thanked the clergy and laity for their fine spirit in the matter.

A pleasing incident of the council of 1883 was a presentation to Bishop Welles of a pastoral staff from his clergy as a token of their loyalty and love, and a recognition by them of "the patience of his life and character as a tender and true father in God." He used it regularly during the remaining years of his episcopate.

In 1884, the tenth year of the bishop's consecration, a Jubilee Service was held in the cathedral on All Saints Day, and the debt upon the cathedral and cathedral hall was extinguished. These mortgages had gone back to the year 1868. Then the diocese of Wisconsin had been a pioneer in cathedral action. At the time of the bishop's Jubilee, 17 dioceses and 6 missionary districts had formed cathedrals and 6 other dioceses had declared in favor of the system, making a total of 29 out of 60 dioceses and districts.

The population of the diocese during the decade 1874-1884 had increased 9%, whereas the number of communicants had increased 45% (3,358 to 4,789). The number of parishes had grown from 80 to 108 and 32 churches had been built.

Bishop Welles, during the years of agitation about the cathedral, was quietly but effectively attending to the many other duties of his office. He was greatly concerned to deepen the devotion of his flock and to this end interested himself in retreats and parochial missions. He annually held a retreat for his clergy before Lent, and strongly advocated the holding of missions in the parishes of the dioceses. He instituted a daily celebration of the Holy Communion at the cathedral in 1879 and several other parishes followed this example. He cultivated the missionary attitude of mind amongst the laity in season and out. He continued to promote and encourage the work of parish schools as he had done during his parish ministry. His influence in the schools of the diocese (Nashotah House, Racine College, Kemper Hall, Fond du Lac, and St. John's, Delafield) deepened as the years passed. At Nashotah, he seemed to revive the genius and spirit of James Lloyd Breck. When Dr. de Koven died, the bishop took charge of Racine College for the time being.

The bishop was firmly convinced that an essential part of the Church's educational program was the use of the printed word. He was overjoyed when the Morehouse family opened a Church book store in Milwaukee for the sale of religious literature locally, and

through the Young Churchman Company (later the Morehouse Publishing Company; now the Morehouse-Gorham Co.) performed inestimable service to the Church throughout the nation in the publication of Church books and magazines (notably "The Living Church"). His friendship with the members of the Morehouse family formed one of the happiest elements of his private life as a Bishop.

At the Lambeth Conference of 1878 Bishop Welles spoke on behalf of sisterhoods. He felt keenly the need and usefulness of orders of women in the Church's work. Later he welcomed the Sisters of St. Mary to work in his diocese, in spite of suspicion, scorn, and opposition.

Two of his favorite diversions were driving a spirited team of horses, (he enjoying racing another team on the road), and boating on the lake at Nashotah. He spent most of his summers at Nashotah, where he entertained fellow bishops, especially those from the "Catholic Belt" (the dioceses in the states of Wisconsin, Illinois, and Indiana). Some of the most interesting ecclesiastical conversations of that day took place in the bishop's boat on the lake in the hearing of the bishop's younger son who rowed the boat.

The bishop was above all a pastor. He loved people; he constantly yearned to serve and save souls for our Lord. He possessed a deep sympathy for, and loyalty to, his clergy in all their trials. From his own means, always slender, he frequently gave to relieve the needs of the clergy. But his love also went out to every man, woman, and child in his diocese. It was proverbial in the diocese that the bishop always remembered a face and never forgot a name. This fact assured his people that he bore them in his heart and prayers. A goodly proportion of his correspondence was with boys and girls.

At the council of 1887 the bishop spoke at length on two important subjects: attendance at celebrations of the Holy Communion for prayer, meditation, and worship; and the change of the name of the Church. He said in part:

"The more frequent Celebrations of the Holy Communion attest a deeper appreciation of the Church's precious doctrine of the Real Presence of our dear Lord, in the Sacrament of His Body and Blood. We cannot over-estimate the wondrous power of that great Sacrifice. We cannot, with our poor faculties, measure or rightly value the gift that is vouchsafed to the soul that devoutly and faithfully communicates. The highest act of worship on earth, the hour of special heartfelt devotion to the Incarnate God, is surely the time for us to make our prayers with a greatly quickened faith."

He also urged that the name of the Church he changed from "Protestant Episcopal" in order to manifest the Catholic nature of the Church of which we are members. Said he: "We are Catholics because we are baptized into the Catholic Church."

The work of Bishop Welles was now practically finished. His health began to fail after his fifty-eighth birthday, in January, 1888. A trip to Florida was prescribed, but when he undertook confirmation on his return, he had a relapse. Twice during Lent he tried to resume work, but to no avail. Friends in the diocese presented him with a purse to enable him to attend the Lambeth Conference of 1888, in the hopes that the sea voyage would prove beneficial. He attended some of the sessions of that conference, but his strength was ebbing. During his stay in London he was the guest of the archbishop of Canterbury at Lambeth Palace. He spent most of his time in England at Stuffynwood, a country estate in Derbyshire. While there, at the request of the bishop of Southwell, he administered confirmation for the last time, vested in cope and mitre.

Bishop Welles, leaving his younger son to study at Oxford, sailed from England with his other son at the end of September, and reached his birthplace on October 8th utterly exhausted. He received the viaticum from his son and died on October 20th. His last words, after reciting the Nicene Creed, were: "In that faith I have lived; in that faith I die."

The train bearing his body reached Milwaukee at midnight on Tuesday, October 23rd. A great body of clergy and many of the laity met the train. The clergy, clad in cassock and biretta, bore the body, in relays, allowing no vehicle to be used. Through the streets, the dark robed procession made its way to the cathedral, where the bell was tolling its message over the sleeping city. Vested clergy maintained a watch by the body until the morning of the burial.

On Thursday, October 25th, the early requiem was celebrated at seven o'clock by the bishop's elder son at which about 200 made their communions. There was a second requiem at eight by the dean, and a third at nine by the bishop of Minnesota, at both of which services large numbers received. At eleven-thirty the long procession of bishops, clergy, and choristers entered the cathedral at the main door and proceeded through the thronged nave to the chancel. At the high requiem the bishop of Springfield was celebrant, the bishop of Western Michigan was gospeller, and the bishop of Chicago was epistoler. The very service itself taught the Resurrection and gave testimony that the Blessed Sacrament, in prayer for living and departed, is the true comfort and solace of the Christian. The bishop of Indiana read the service at the grave, and Bishop Whipple pronounced the benediction.

Thus, on the fourteenth anniversary of his consecration as a bishop in the Church of God, Edward Randolph Welles was buried, having fought a good fight, having finished his course, and having kept the faith.

ANGLICAN ORIGINS OF COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

By John Brett Langstaff

The part played by the Protestant Episcopal Church in the pioneering days of Columbia University calls for no apology and warrants no pride. It can be said without controversy that churchmen did more than other pioneers in the province of New York to launch the cause of advanced learning. How little the New Yorkers did and how late they did it in comparison with other colonial communities requires an explanation.

It must be remembered that the natural harbour at the mouth of the Hudson afforded a valuable port for foreign shipping. Thus the rocky island of Manhattan, whose thin layer of soil made it for the most part unattractive to the farmer, found its inevitable destiny as a trading post. Unlike the settlers who sought to create homelands in other sections of America, those who pitched their tents or built their houses on the narrow island between the North and East rivers were bent on trade.

Dutchmen of scholastic vision who had created an international seat of learning in their home town of Leyden could see small need for starting a similar university among temporary traders in New Amsterdam. When the English changed the name of the settlement to New York they did not alter the character of the inhabitants, who continued largely in the Dutch language to carry on their traditional commerce. A cultural influence, however, came to New York with the Huguenot refugees after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and also with certain respectable folk who found life hard in Scotland and the north of Ireland. The French Protestant Church and the Protestant society of St. Patrick, as well as the society of St. Andrew, were early evidence of their stimulating presence in the city of shop-keepers.

It was not until the beginning of the eighteenth century that any provision was suggested for the college that was one day to be Columbia. This was done in connection with a grant of land intended to establish the Anglican Church in the new British colony. The rector and wardens of Trinity Church waited on the erratic governor, Lord Cornbury, to learn what portion of this King's Farm he wished set aside for the proposed college.

Even at that date the dwellers on Manhattan were an emulsion of nationalities for whom it was difficult to find a community solution, and perhaps for that reason nothing came of the governor's suggestion

for many years. A lottery had finally to be resorted to in order to stir the people's interest to a point of raising a fund for college buildings. Nevertheless, when the money was in hand it was not necessary to solicit ideas on how to spend it, and certain of the citizens became set on the novel conception of a purely secular institution of learning.

At this point Trinity Church offered to fulfil the obligation placed upon it by Lord Cornbury, and expressed a readiness to deed a generous portion of its unproductive farm for the erection of this college. But to counter the secularizing pressure to which the trustees were yielding Trinity tied its gift up with a proviso that parts of the Book of Common Prayer be used, and further that the president of the proposed college be a communicant of the Anglican Church. Rather than have religion excluded entirely from the college, this proviso was approved by the nonconformist ministers of the city. Even the more secular minded citizens agreed that something of this sort seemed necessary in view of definite financial support proffered from England by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. So the stipulation was accepted by the trustees, and the college was given the name of the farm whose land was to form the larger part of its income for many years.

To secure a scholar to preside over the new King's College the trustees were forced to go to the sister colony of Connecticut. There they found the Reverend Dr. Samuel Johnson who had been intimate with Bishop Berkeley during his three years' residence in Rhode Island. Dr. Johnson had imbibed the ideas of the Irish philosopher, who, with a promised grant of twenty thousand pounds, was planning a college in the Bermudas which would extend its benefits to the Americans. Benjamin Franklin tried to persuade Dr. Johnson to preside over his new college in Pennsylvania but Johnson cast his lot with Columbia. As one of the separatists who had returned to conformity with the Church of England in a part of the world that still preserved a pre-Georgian high-churchmanship, he brought this influence with him to New York but immediately made it clear that the religious profession of undergraduates was not to be interfered with by the college curriculum.

President Johnson's first lectures in New York were given in the school building of Trinity Church, and in time the Rev. Leonard Cutting, who later became rector at Flushing, was secured as a tutor. Even when a suitable building had been constructed not far from the commons where the City Hall now stands, King's College, in spite of its university aspirations, had to be carried on more after the manner of an English public school, because of the inadequacy of preparatory-school education in pre-revolutionary New York.

When, in 1776, that notable scholar, the Reverend Myles Cooper, who had succeeded Dr. Johnson as president on recommendation of the archbishop of Canterbury, escaped in his nightshirt from a back win-

dow of King's College while young Alexander Hamilton harangued an insurgent mob at the front door, he left the temporary responsibility of his office to an assistant minister of Trinity Church, the Reverend Benjamin Moore. Mr. Moore carried the college on as best he could, although during the seven years' military occupation of the city he was compelled to hold classes in a house in Wall Street.

After the British evacuation in 1783 the college was converted into a "University of the State of New York", but before long reinstated with its original charter and given the popular name of the day, "Columbia". The son¹ of the first president of King's College had come to the fore in shaping the literary style of the constitution of the United States, and was willing to undertake to carry out the ideal of advanced learning his father had started in New York. He was probably the first layman to be president of an English speaking college, but he fulfilled the requirement of the charter in that he was a confirmed member of the Anglican Church. It must be admitted that his able administration of the college was somewhat distracted by having to serve as United States senator from Connecticut at the same time. The finances of the college failed to revive, however, with the increased population of the federalized city, and soon the trustees of Columbia were forced to seek a new president.

The rector² of St. Mary's Church, Burlington, New Jersey, considered the office for some months but found it "untenable". Benjamin Moore, by that time bishop of New York as well as rector of Trinity Church, once again threw himself into the breach to serve as president of Columbia. As a result of overstrain Bishop Moore suffered a stroke, and the only available candidate deemed worthy to follow him as president was a distinguished preacher of protestantism, John Mitchell Mason. Dr. Mason seemed personally qualified for the presidency not only by his long association with Columbia as a trustee, but also by his experience as professor in the theological seminary which was the predecessor of the Union Theological Seminary. However, the Reverend John Mitchell Mason, as a divine of the Associate Reformed Church of Scotland, had little sympathy with the Episcopal Church and less with the high church tendencies of Columbia.

To avoid a violation of the college charter by electing a nonconformist president, the Reverend John Henry Hobart, a trustee of Columbia and member of the staff of Trinity Church, proposed the creation of the new position of "provost". Thanks to much manoeuvring and

¹*Wm. Samuel Johnson: born October 7, 1727; Yale, B. A., 1744; lawyer. President of Columbia, 1787-1800. Died Nov. 14, 1819.*

²*The Rev. Dr. Charles H. Wharton: born St. Mary's Co., Maryland, May 25th, O. S., 1748. Raised Roman Catholic; educated by Jesuits in France and Flanders. Ordained deacon and priest, 1772. Converted to Episcopal Church c. 1784. Died July 23, 1833.*

a midnight ride of Hobart's, a coup was accomplished and Mason was elected to the office of provost of Columbia. In this position he administered the affairs of the college, with the rector of St. Mark's in the Bowerie serving as nominal president.

This action sharpened the high-church controversy which had come with Hobart. It led to Hobart's taking over *The Churchman's Magazine* for the propagation of his principles, and to the establishment of his own theological college in New York, which later was merged with the General Theological Seminary. This high-church movement at Columbia under the leadership of John Henry Hobart was linked by Bishop Hobart's subsequent sojourn in England with the beginnings of the Oxford Movement under the genius of John Henry Newman.

The provost-president administration of Columbia failed, however, and the student enrollment dropped to a dangerous minimum. Upon the retirement of Dr. Mason, the Reverend William Harris, who had up to this time been serving nominally as president of Columbia, resigned the rectorship of St. Mark's in the Bowerie in order to undertake the full responsibility of the college. Immediately following this the Reverend John McVickar and his cousin Nathaniel Fish Moore were added to the faculty and the college took an upward turn. Discouraging though the next half century was, the Episcopal Church through its priests and laymen stood by Columbia until it was firmly established.

In considering the part played by the Episcopal Church in developing what was for years the only school of advanced learning in New York City, one must not fail to bear in mind the general cultural advance of an essentially commercial community. Outside the college the churches were practically the only media which brought the people the amenities of life. Around Trinity Church there soon sprang up the parishes of St. George's, Grace, St. John's Chapel, Varick Street, St. Mark's in the Bowerie and others. Each of these formed a cultural centre with the effect of increasing the demand for higher education. The fact that New York could boast a literary group including such authors as Washington Irving and James Fenimore Cooper preceding the celebrated school in Concord and Cambridge cannot be dissociated from this cultural influence of the Episcopal Church. In those early days the higher branches of education divided into theology and medicine. Samuel Bard, the founder and first dean of the medical faculty of Columbia, offers a fair example of the Episcopal layman's contribution toward this cultural development, and the church he built at Hyde Park stands as a witness to his loyalty. Men like John Jay, Alexander Hamilton, Rufus King, William Duer, Morgan Lewis, Clement Clarke Moore and many other active laymen in the Episcopal Church are in fact the foundation stones upon which Columbia and the great cultural city of modern America have been built.

DOCUMENTARY HISTORY

LETTER OF BISHOP SEABURY TO THE REV. DR. SAMUEL PETERS.

ADDRESS.

“The Rev^d Dr. Samuel Peters
N^o 1 Charlotte Street, Pimlico,
Westminster.

New London Nov. 7, 1788.

Rev^d & Dear Sir,

Since I have been in Connecticut, I have received two letters from you, & have written two, this is the third to you; & yet you complain; but I flatter myself not in serious earnestness.

I hope this will find you & all yours well, God keep you so.

I send herewith a Package to go to Scotland, which I beg you to forward. It contains copies of A Charity Sermon preached in Boston, & letters. One copy I send for your amusement.

We go on here in the hum drum way—neither quite right, nor very wrong.

The Package is directed to you to the Care of Jos. Aluoke at the New York Coffee House, He lives in S. Swithun's lane, opposite Bear binder lane.

You will probably hear again from me soon, especially if I get any news to send you, Now write me a long letter for my short one, & tell me every thing; & believe me your affect^e & hum Serv^t

SAMUEL CONNECT.

(Peter's Endorsement. “Seabury Bishop
November 7, 1788
Recd April 1, 1789.
Answd April 6.”

EXPENSES OF BISHOP WHITE'S CONSECRATION.

The Right Rev^d William White, D. D. Bishop of Pennsylvania
To William Dicks Dr

1787.

Jany 25. To Fees paid at the Secretary
of State's Office, for his Maj-
esty's Licence authorising the
Arch b to Consecrate

	L.	S.	D.
	4	16	9

Feb'y	4.	To Fees at the Vicar General's Office Drs Commons by Acct	6	6	4
		To several Attendances at Lord Sidney's Office, Doctor's Commons &c &c engrossing Certificate of Consecration & Parchment	2	2	0
		To a Gratuity to the Chapel Clerk at Lambeth Palace	0	10	6
		To Coach hire at sundry times	0	7	6
			14	3	1

The following is a statement of the Fees paid at the Vicar General's Office.

EXPENSES OF CONSECRATING THE REV^d WILLIAM WHITE,
D. D. TO BE BISHOP OF PENNSYLVANIA.

	L.	S.	D.
Apparitor's fee	1	0	0
Drawing & Ingrossing the Act of Consecration & Stamp	0	8	8
Registers fee attending the Consecration at Lambeth	1	6	8
Registering the whole Proceedings	2	10	0
One half of the Coach hire &c		10	6
Registers Clerk		10	6
	6	6	4

BOOK REVIEWS

Inventory of Washington Cathedral Archives. Diocese of Washington. Volume Two. The Protestant Episcopal Church.

Calendar of the Letters and Documents of Peter Force on the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence in the Loomis Collection, Washington, D. C.

Calendar of Alexander Graham Bell Correspondence in the Volta Bureau, Washington, D. C.

Historical Records Survey. Works Progress Administration, Washington, D. C.

In 1938 a new branch of the W. P. A. was inaugurated under the heading of the "Historical Records Survey Project". Its purpose was to discover, edit under expert direction, and publish private manuscripts and papers. Some of these, already issued, are of the greatest possible value to students of the history of the Episcopal Church in the United States, and others of equal value are in the making. When the work is completed we shall have at our disposal a wealth of source material beyond the power of private enterprise to supply.

The three issues included in this review all relate to papers in various archives in the District of Columbia. The first is an "Inventory of Washington Cathedral Archives", and runs to 122 mimeographed pages. Fortunately, those archives are singularly complete. They go back to the time when Major Pierre Charles L' Enfant included in his plan for a "Federal City" a "National or a State Church"; an American Westminster Abbey, "assigned to the special use of no particular sect or denomination, but equally devoted to all". As far back as 1839 the idea of a cathedral for Washington was broached in the diocesan convention of Maryland, but it did not materialize until the diocese of Washington was created in 1895, and Henry Yates Satterlee was elected first bishop. From the outset the archives were most carefully preserved. In this publication, following a foreword by Bishop Freeman, there is an exact list of all the papers and manuscripts, together with printed matter, relating to the cathedral. They are well documented and supplemented by a full index.

The second publication under review enshrines the papers of Peter Force, archivist and historian, born in 1790. His best known work was "American Archives", published in the years 1837-1853. Under the authority of the Department of State he published nine volumes of original sources of American history from the 17th century, covering the years 1774-1776. This issue catalogues the letters and documents of Force and his son, William, in relation to the Declaration of Independence adopted at Mecklenburg, North Carolina, May 31, 1775, in so far as they are found in the Loomis Collection in Washington.

The third publication is a Calendar of the correspondence of Dr. Alexander Graham Bell, now housed in the Volta Bureau. Bell, of course, is best known as the inventor of the telephone. Not less important was his interest in and his work for the deaf. He established the Volta Bureau to be a clearing house

for the accumulation of information pertaining to deafness. The letters here listed date from 1871 to 1922.

There has been a good deal of criticism of the work of the W. P. A., but of its Historical Survey work there can be nothing but the highest praise.

E. CLOWES CHORLEY.

An Introduction to the Episcopal Church. By Joseph Buchanan Bernardin. Second edition. New York: Morehouse-Gorham Company. 1940.

This is the second edition of a manual first published in 1935. It achieves, more or less successfully, the difficult task of embracing instruction on the history, government, Bible, Prayer Book, together with her ritual, doctrine and sacraments, in the compass of a little more than 100 pages. The brief expositions of the clauses in the creeds, the Lord's Prayer and the Beatitudes are particularly good. Each chapter is followed by a list of books for reading, though there are some notable omissions. Appendix B contains "An Aid to Self-Examination"; short, but adequate; searching, without being morbid. There is one statement to which exception can be made. Dr. Bernardin attributes the lack of early domestic missionary work to the laziness of the clergy. As a matter of fact, long before organized missionary work individual ministers of this Church had penetrated the wilds and the frontiers.

Inventory of the Church Archives of New Jersey: The Protestant Episcopal Church—Dioceses of New Jersey and Newark. New Jersey Historical Records Survey, W. P. A. Newark, 1940. 434 pp.

The Historical Records Survey of the W. P. A. is producing visible fruits of a high order—such as are quite likely never to have been produced by any other agency. In the Foreword to the present volume the historiographer of the diocese of New Jersey states:

"First, the history of the Episcopal Church in the State of New Jersey, as set forth in the Historical Introduction, is the most complete which has thus far been published. If the treatment of the last hundred years is all too brief, it is merely an indication of the research which still needs to be done in this field.

Second, the whole volume, with its detailed listings of the archives of the Episcopal Church in New Jersey—of the two dioceses which comprise it, of their institutions, of the various parishes and missions—is a monumental work of indispensable value to the student of history, genealogy, and vital statistics; and is in itself a justification of the Historical Records Survey in this historic State."

Fifty-eight pages are devoted to the history of the Church in the two dioceses of New Jersey and Newark; 142 pages, covering 219 entries, are given to the archives of the diocesan convention, diocesan house, parishes, missions, institutions and organizations of the diocese of New Jersey; 182 pages, covering 287 entries, deal with the same subjects in the diocese of Newark. Each parish and mission has a brief historical account in addition to the listing of registers and other records belonging to it. The bibliography of 5 pages is excellent, and the three different indexes will enable one to find a desired subject quite readily.

This is the third inventory of church archives of New Jersey. The first was that of Baptist Bodies (1938) and the second, Seventh Day Baptist Supplement (1939).

To the historical student the only proper emotion concerning this volume is gratitude.

WALTER HERBERT STOWE

Inventory of the Church Archives of Mississippi—The Protestant Church: Diocese of Mississippi. Mississippi Historical Records Survey, Jackson, June 1940. 146 pp.

Dr. William Mercer Green, Bishop of Mississippi, writes in the Foreword:

"I am grateful that the Episcopal Church in the State of Mississippi was made a project of survey. Its history is linked with the glorious past and its principles are a rich part of the heritage of our commonwealth.

I am happy that this work has been under the direction of Mr. Nash Burger, who has with meticulous and laborious conscientiousness sought the fullness and accuracy of records."

HISTORICAL MAGAZINE shares in this feeling of Bishop Green, among other reasons because Mr. Burger has been a valued contributor to our columns.

This volume is of the same high standard as the New Jersey volume. The Historical Introduction of 27 pages, evidently the work of Mr. Burger, is the most comprehensive account of the Episcopal Church in Mississippi which we know to exist. Services of the Episcopal Church began in Mississippi when it was still part of Spanish territory. The diocese was received into union with the General Convention in 1826. In spite of the fact that the Church suffered grievously as a result of the War Between the States, the Church has grown faster than the State. Whereas in 1840 the ratio of population to each communicant was 2,042 to 1, in 1940 it was 264 to 1. Several interesting maps accompany the Historical Introduction.

The archives of the diocese and each of its parishes, missions and institutions are listed under 129 entries covering 95 pages. Each parish has a considerably longer historical sketch than the New Jersey volume, more space being available, and the footnotes for each sketch are voluminous.

The bibliography of 4 pages is probably the most detailed ever assembled on the history of the Episcopal Church in Mississippi. Good indexes are indispensable to such a work and those in this volume are the most elaborate we have seen. There are five: (1) chronological index to churches and institutions; (2) index to churches by name; (3) index to churches by location; (4) by counties; (5) and to clergymen mentioned in the volume.

Laws of Mississippi pertaining to religious organizations, as well as general and diocesan canons, are valuable items in the inventory.

The Historical Records Survey of Mississippi is to be heartily congratulated on this notable work.

WALTER HERBERT STOWE.

Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church

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No. 4

THE NEW ENGLAND ANGLICAN CLERGY IN THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

*By the late Charles Mampoteng, M. A.**

March 31, 1908—April 22, 1939

I. INTRODUCTION

AN examination of the reactions of the Anglican clergy in New England to the American Revolution, becomes a study devoted in the main to the varied degrees of loyalism manifested. From the beginning, Anglicanism had encountered determined opposition from the Congregationalists, who looked upon New England as their peculiar stronghold to the exclusion of other sects. Practically all the parishes of the Church of England were founded by the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts,¹ which also subsidized wholly or in part the missionaries it appointed.² As the faith and order of the Church was painstakingly set forth, an increasingly steady stream of converts went to England to obtain holy orders. To all American clergymen, ordained and appointed missionaries of the Society, was given a royal bounty of £19 7s 6 in addition to the subsidy of £50 a year.

The practical difficulties of journeys abroad³ resulted in the appeal for an American episcopate to ordain as well as to supervise the rapidly expanding missions. Immediately there arose loud lamentations by the

*Editor's Note: This historical essay was found among Mr. Mampoteng's papers. It has been edited by Dr. Edgar L. Pennington, Associate Editor of this Magazine.

¹This society was organized in England in 1701, largely through the efforts of Rev. Thomas Bray, who had been a commissary in Maryland.

²Most parishes were required to subscribe part of the necessary funds if a missionary was sent to them or a station organized in their locality.

³Of the 51 candidates who had gone abroad by 1766, ten had lost their lives.

Puritan leaders, as reflected in a letter written by the learned Ezra Stiles, later president of Yale, in which he says

"For us in New England to be harassed with even the most moderate Episcopacy, at least to have it imposed on us, whose fathers fled here for asylum, is perfectly cruel—",⁴

But their fears were overcome with the intelligence that the British government believed such a step inadvisable, due to the uncertain state of political affairs in the New England colonies.

The clergy serving New England were generally assigned to localities familiar to them, each in the center of an extensive district which was covered cheerfully and devotedly despite climatic extremes or physical handicaps. Among the ordination vows exacted by the Church was that of allegiance to the crown,⁵ an obligation which was to afford much food for thought as revolutionary sentiment grew throughout the colonies. When the anti-Stamp Act agitation took shape, the priests firmly taught their people that obedience must be shown to civil authority, while seven Connecticut missionaries⁶ optimistically memorialized the Society that the Church people generally would not prove rebellious. Due to the Stamp Act clamor, the Society declined to establish any more missions in New England, causing widespread confusion among both clerics and laymen. An excellent example of the sincere attitude held just prior to actual hostilities⁷ by the clergy is a letter written by the Rev. Ebenezer Dibblee of Stamford, in which he states:

(We) "view with the deepest anxiety, affliction and concern the great dangers we are in, by reason of our unhappy divisions, and the amazing height to which the unfortunate disputes between Great Britain and these remote provinces have risen, and the baneful influences they have upon the interest of true religion, and the well-being of the Church.

Our duty, as ministers of religion, is now attended with peculiar difficulty: faithfully to discharge the duties of our office, and yet carefully to avoid taking any part in these political disputes, as I trust my brethren in this colony have done as much as possible, notwithstanding any representations to our prejudice to the contrary.

We can only pray Almighty God, in compassion to our Church and nation, and the well-being of these provinces in particular, to avert these terrible calamities that are the natural

⁴To Dr. Cummings, July 26, 1754.

⁵Oath of conformity: "I do declare that I will conform to the Liturgy of the Church of England as it is now by law Established."

⁶E. E. Beardsley, "History of the Episcopal Church in Conn." p. 240.

⁷April 5, 1775 (Hawks & Perry, "Doc. Hist. of P. E. Church in America," II, 198)

result of such an unhappy contest with our parent state, to save us from the horrors of a civil war, and remove all groundless fears and jealousies, and whatever else may hinder us from godly union and concord."

As soon as the Declaration of Independence was promulgated, the Anglican clergy were faced with the problem of reconciling their moral obligations with a new political order. Some of them fled the country at once, others tried to compromise by suspending public services, others boldly defied the Whigs; but an exceedingly small number capitulated to the new order, despite the popular conviction that a Tory was "a thing whose head is in England and its body in America, and its neck ought to be stretched."⁸ Colony after colony decreed that prayers for king and parliament must be omitted from services,—a direct attack upon the liturgy of the Church of England.⁹ In this connection may be mentioned the case of the divine who, being used to pray for "our excellent King George", one Sunday used the stereotyped phrase but saved himself from rough handling by adding, "O Lord, I mean George Washington".¹⁰ All through the colonial period, the Puritan animosity against the Anglican Church seethed, irrespective of any formal aloofness; but when anti-crown agitation began, there was born a new important and enduring ill feeling. Congregationalist New England, of overwhelmingly Whig persuasion, turned bitter eyes upon the Church of England as represented by those strong mission posts in a Puritan sphere of influence.

The recurrent clashes and suspicious distrust accorded the Episcopal layman, was induced partly by the old religious fanaticism, and partly by the loyalist attitude taken by priests of that alien communion.

Because the impossibility of distributing the S. P. G. funds during the war resulted in widespread misery for poverty stricken priests, a large collection was sent from London to Dr. Inglis of Trinity Church, New York,¹¹ for distribution. Dr. Inglis soon had his private estate confiscated. He fled from New York to London; becoming the first bishop of Nova Scotia in 1787, that province having been made a see by that time. Nova Scotia became the haven of American Tories; and in 1783 about 30,000 loyalists left New York for that place, but about a third chose a forbidding spot called Shelburne where natural barriers and climatic conditions worked disaster. When peace had been declared, some states retained the war-time restrictions of banishment

⁸Van Tyne, "*Loyalists in Amer. Revol.*" p. 192.

⁹*Morning & Evening Service: after Lord's Prayer, v. "O Lord save the King"; r. "and mercifully hear us when we shall call upon Thee."* Also in *Communion collect, and the 15th, 16th, 17th, 18th, 20th petitions of Litany.*

¹⁰Beardsley, p. 313.

¹¹An active loyalist. Funds distributed among New York, New Jersey and Connecticut clergy.

and property-confiscation, while others like Connecticut relented a bit. In the main, those who fled to British territory found nothing but disappointments, with the refugee missionaries being settled in other stations, to take up the thread of missionary activity begun in the American colonies.

II. MASSACHUSETTS

The fourteen Anglican priests stationed in Massachusetts at the outbreak of the Revolutionary war were, for the most part, firmly convinced that resolute allegiance to king and parliament was not only a moral obligation undertaken at the time of ordination but a practical desirability. Due to their uncompromising stand, not a few missionaries were forced to flee the province even before the Declaration of Independence had been promulgated, while others got into difficulties as years went by, so that only five priests were living in Massachusetts at the end of the Revolution.¹² The General Court passed an act¹³ in March 1777 that forbade expressions in preaching or praying that might discountenance popular support of colonial independency of the British empire, under the pain of a £50 fine. This decree, striking at the liturgy of the Church, caused the majority of the clergy to suspend further services and to leave their stations, taking their families with them to such havens as Nova Scotia, where other posts and chaplaincies were offered by the Government.

The Society saw fit in 1779 to drop two missionaries from its rolls for disloyalty,¹⁴ one of them destined to become the first bishop of Massachusetts when the American Church was definitely organized. Curiously enough, the second bishop of Massachusetts¹⁵ was also a priest in American favor by having accommodated himself to the situation, while an English-born¹⁶ missionary remained at his post privately ministering to individuals throughout the war, although he declined to officiate publicly with a mutilated liturgy.

The stately King's Chapel in Boston,¹⁷ probably the only stone church in America at that time, stood as a majestic symbol of the relation between church and state. The provincial governors as well as a number of crown officials regularly attended there; and while Boston

¹²A meeting of the clergy called at Boston in 1784 to discuss their status included the Rev. Messrs. Parker, Bass, Lewis, Fisher, Wheeler, Badger and J. Graves. Badger and Graves were from Rhode Island.

¹³Wm. Perry, "Hist. Coll. of American Colonial Church," III, p. 591.

¹⁴Rev. Edward Bass of Newburyport, and Rev. Robert Blackwell of Gloucester, N. J. (Perry, III, 609).

¹⁵Rev. Samuel Parker, curate at Trinity, Boston.

¹⁶Rev. William McGilchrist of Salem.

¹⁷Built 1688, the first Church establishment in New England. Conventions of the clergy were regularly held there from 1766 up to the war.

was occupied by the British army and navy, both officers and men were frequently present. The congregation had, in April 1747, chosen a committee to find a worthy successor to the incumbent, the Rev. Mr. Price; and after due deliberation issued an invitation to an exceedingly popular preacher at Fairfield, Connecticut, whose genuine piety was coupled with business ability.

The Rev. Henry Caner¹⁸ in accepting this unique invitation, gave up his S. P. G. subsidy on leaving Fairfield, but remained a valued correspondent of the Society. His loyalty was ever above question, as may be gathered in part from his sermons at the 1759 capture of Quebec, at the end of the French and Indian War,¹⁹ a farewell at Governor Hutchinson's departure in 1774, and other productions. When Governor Francis Bernard entered Boston in August, 1760, Caner was at the head of the clergy and wardens of the three Episcopal churches in the town to welcome him. In the letters of John Andrews the entry of March 18, 1775 tells of

" . . . a certain Rev. Doctor of the Established Church in this town has lately said that he would rather wade up to his knees in blood than that the Ministry should give way."

That Dr. Caner was proud of the "red coats" who were occupying rebellious Boston, is amply shown by his untiring labor in their interest. After the Bunker Hill skirmish, his burial register²⁰ notes that he buried seven British soldiers:

June 18—Capt. Wm. Hudson 65th Reg.
 19—Sgt. John Taylor (Hudson's Co.)
 21—Lt. John Brewer 14th Reg.
 May 20—Sgt. Wm. Ransor 65th Reg.
 27—George Walker (Hudson's Co.)
 28—Corp. John Blacklock (Hudson's Co.)
 June 1—James Thirstyn 65th Reg. (Sinclair's Co.)

The British decided to evacuate Boston in March, 1776, and Caner had to flee to Halifax with them, dreading to face probable American retaliatory measures. On only seven hours' notice²¹ he was able to carry away only his registers and sundry pieces of church-plate,²²

¹⁸Born 1700, Yale 1724, M. A. 1735 & D. D. 1766 Oxford; Ord. 1727, served Fairfield 20 years. Pious High Church and Tory leanings. Father, a carpenter worked at King's Chapel 1713-5, built first hall for Yale 1717.

¹⁹Henry Foote, "Annals of King's Chapel", II., 213-214. At the accession of George III (Jan. 1, 1761) Caner preached a laudatory sermon.

²⁰March 1, 1775 to Feb. 1776 there were 89 dead, previous period 35.

²¹Perry, III., 586 (letter of May 10, 1776).

²²E. A. Jones, "Loyalists of Massachusetts," p. 77.

leaving house, furniture, books and pictures worth £2,000 behind. Following a trip to London, he returned early in 1777 to serve at Bristol, Rhode Island, till the end of the war. Failing eyesight prevented the acceptance of any position in England,²³ where he died in 1793. Once he and the loyalist group in the parish had departed, the gilt mitres and crowns on the organs were quietly removed. Only for the burial of the Bunker Hill hero, Dr. Joseph Warren,²⁴ was the church opened; but the Congregationalists held forth there in September, 1777, as their Old South Church had become a British stable.

The assistant chaplain at King's Chapel was the Rev. John Troutbeck who made himself disliked for steadily preaching against the Whigs.²⁵ Although not generally considered of great talent, he nevertheless was able to amass quite an estate spread over neighboring colonies.²⁶ He sailed with his family in November, 1775, aboard the warship "Somerset" for Halifax, but the following year he was at London, the guest of the Rev. Samuel Peters, later acting as curate in Cherring-ton, Warwickshire.²⁷ Severe illness caused him to remove to Blencowe, where he died August 13, 1779. His wife, while declaring that all his real estate had been confiscated, claimed £3,043 from the commission which made awards to loyalists for losses sustained during the war. She received £769, and a pension of £80 till her death in 1816.

The smallest of the three Episcopal churches in Boston was Christ Church, where that distinguished convert, Dr. Timothy Cutler, had labored from 1723 to 1765. The parish officers, eager to keep the church in order, decreed that

"no naills nor pinns be put in the pillars nor front of the gallerys with a design to hang hatts on."

and further that for the future the sexton was to

"keep the rails at altar clear from boys and negroes sitting there",²⁸

²³Caner claimed £3900, was awarded £900 and £200 yr. for war salary loss, and £100 pension till his death.

²⁴Salem "Gazette" for April 25, 1776.

²⁵Born in Blencowe; Queens College Oxford 1741; S. P. G. missionary to Indians 1753; King's Chapel 1755. Married Sarah Gould, daughter of a distiller; 1774 pamphlet badgered him on rum connections.

²⁶By 1722 he had three dwellings in Boston, one in the country; land in New York, New Hampshire, Connecticut; a library worth £266, a chariot over £133, two chaises at £30. Wife executrix of father's estate, whole worth £22,719 sterling. (Jones, p. 279).

²⁷Jones, p. 279 while Foote, v. 2, p. 192 says he was taken in raids by American privateers in 1777 and that he held no regular cure.

²⁸Henry Burroughs, "History of Christ Church", p. 7.

The Society appointed another convert, the Rev. Mather Byles Jr.,²⁹ who acquired a reputation as a wit. His maternal ancestors were Richard Mather and John Cotton. In composing 37 stanzas of poetry about the Boston clergy in 1774, an author writes,

"There's punning Byles, provokes our smiles,
A man of stately parts;
Who visits folks to crack his jokes,
That never mend their hearts.
With strutting gait and wig so great,
He walks along the streets,
And throws out wit or what's like it,
To every one he meets".³⁰

Being a faithful servant of church and state, he felt called upon to resign on April 18, 1775, the same fateful night in which the famous signal to Paul Revere was given from the spire of Christ Church. As long as the British held Boston, Byles stayed on, serving as garrison chaplain, although the church had been closed in 1775. A French congregation was given use of the building in 1778, with the Rev. Samuel Parker of Trinity Church holding afternoon services, thereby preserving the edifice to the communion.³¹ An ex-army chaplain, the Rev. Stephen Lewis,³² who had taken the American oath of allegiance, was at Christ Church from 1778 to 1785.

A letter written by Byles in 1776 describes his astonishment at the sudden evacuation of the town, and his own troubles in being unable to take more than a couple of beds and some trunks with him to exile in a strange place, with five motherless children on his hands. His sojourn at Halifax brought him into conflict with the Rev. Joshua Wingate Weeks, since he supplanted the latter as chaplain to the garrison and as curate at St. Paul's, Halifax. In May 1789 he became rector of Trinity, St. John's, New Brunswick, a loyalist refugee colony, where he died in 1814. The Massachusetts legislature proscribed and banished this learned priest, September, 1778, selling his property.³³

The only clergyman in Boston who dared publicly to condemn the mob violence against Andrew Oliver, the distributor of stamps in

²⁹Born Jan. 12, 1734/5, Harvard 1751, M. A. 1754 and in Yale 1757; was librarian at Harvard 1755-7, Congregational pastor of New London; Ord. 1768, D. D. Oxford. His father Rev. Mather Byles Sr. (b. 1706, d. 1788) Congregational pastor at Hollis St. Church from 1732 till deprived in August 1775 for loyalism—known for his puns and jokes.

³⁰Samuel Drake, "Old Landmarks of Boston" p. 414.

³¹Perry, "Hist. American Church" p. 601.

³²Chaplain of Burgoyne's Light Dragoons (Rev. Samuel Parker, June 21, 1784).

³³Lorenzo Sabine, "American Loyalists" I., 285. Property at Springfield, Granville, Massachusetts; claimed £1,275 4 s., awarded £120 and £100 yr. war loss.

1767, was the staunchly loyal rector of Trinity Church, the Rev. William Walter.³⁴ He resigned March 17, 1776, leaving town with his family when the British left, to arrive in Halifax in May. His family safely deposited there, he joined General Howe in New York serving later as chaplain in DeLancey's loyalist regiment. From 1783 to 1790 he was rector of St. George's, Shelburne, Nova Scotia, acting as dean for a while too, his cheerful serenity and open heart endearing him to the refugees in that bleak haven. Walter was tall and handsome, remembered generally for his immaculate powdered wig and wearing a cloak over his gown and cassock while on the streets.³⁵ A letter from Annapolis, Oct. 31, 1784 reads:

"Parson Walter has arrived in Halifax in the quality of a D. D.³⁶ What is your opinion of this gentleman? The ladies who emigrated from York to Annapolis reprobate him as a fop and coxcomb and affirm that his whole attention is given to dress, balls and plays."

However that may have been, he returned after hostilities were over, to become rector of Christ Church, Boston, in 1792, serving till his death in 1800 and renewing his former happiness among many friends in Boston.

When the other Episcopal priests in Boston fled, the curate at Trinity, the Rev. Samuel Parker,³⁷ stayed on alone at great personal peril, but gaining the respectful admiration of the Whigs by adapting himself to the changing political order. Parker was convinced that, as a priest in the Church of God, he was obliged to care for the souls of the faithful, regardless of political allegiance, and so was willing to omit the objectionable prayers in the liturgy. Trinity remained open, with regular services throughout the Revolution, the vestry having in 1776 voted that

"Mr. Parker the present minister be desired to continue officiating in said church and that he be requested to omit that part of the liturgy of the church which relates to the King".³⁸

³⁴Born 1739 Roxbury, Harvard 1756, school at Salem, Deputy Port Collector at Salem.—Convert.—Ord. 1764, rector Trinity July 1764. Married Lydia, daughter of former Chief Justice B. Lynde of Mass. Farm 130 acres at Thompson Island. Son, Lynde, married daughter of Col. Abr. Van Buskirk, a New Jersey Tory. (Awarded £293 & £180 yr.).

³⁵Sprague, "Annals of American Pulpit", V., 233.

³⁶Kings Coll. Aberdeen 1784.

³⁷B. 1744 Portsmouth, N. H., Harvard 1764—convert, Ord. 1774, D. D. U. of Penn. 1789. Father educated in tanyard, held government positions till he became judge of Superior Court, slightly prior to the Revolution.

³⁸Batchelder, "History of Eastern Diocese", p. 559.

It is said that the ritual of Trinity still omits prayers for the king under the authority of that vote.³⁹

This dignified, mannerly and benevolent priest so well pleased the parish that in 1777 they voted him a gratuity of £75, the incumbent's privileges while Dr. Walter was away, and finally the rectorship in 1779. As King's Chapel was without its own worship, many from that congregation came to hear the popular Parker. When Bishop Bass died in 1803, Dr. Parker was chosen second bishop of Massachusetts, being consecrated the following year in New York. The severity of his gout cut short his episcopate, death coming in December 1804.

In order to serve Episcopal students at Harvard more fully, Christ Church parish in Cambridge was founded in 1759, with the Rev. East Apthorp as missionary. Apthorp achieved fame for his firm stand in controversies with dissenters, notably Jonathan Mayhew, but in 1765 he left to take up life as a parish priest in England. His able arguments for a colonial episcopacy led Puritans to believe that,

"His reverend mind,
Begins to grow right-reverently inclined".⁴⁰

An Englishman, the Rev. Winwood Serjeant,⁴¹ succeeded him in 1767, after having served in South Carolina. Writing to the Society in 1774, he elaborated upon the foment, violence, the rebel tea parties, to all of which he was decidedly unsympathetic. Cambridge for obvious geographical reasons was the only place where the provincial troops could have their headquarters, being near enough to watch the enemy, yet protected from sudden attack by an unbridged arm of the sea separating Cambridge from Boston. Episcopacy, from the first offensive on Puritan soil, was now more abhorred than ever, since in Cambridge almost every conspicuous dwelling on Menotomy Road housed a loyalist member of the English Church. "Church Row" became synonymous with "Tory Row". Within a short time Serjeant was in difficulties, being imprisoned⁴² for a time and receiving such rough treatment that he gradually became paralyzed. His family was forced to flee in 1775, while he served as chaplain to a British ship in Boston harbor and officiated at King's Chapel until he was forbidden in July 1776 to use prayers⁴³ for the king. Serjeant went to England in April

³⁹July 18, 1776 (*Foote*, v. 2, p. 309).

⁴⁰Bradford, "*Life of Jonathan Mayhew*", p. 267.

⁴¹Born 1739 Bristol, England; Oxford, Ord. 1756—S. P. G. curate at S. Philip's, Charleston 1759; at S. George's Dorchester 1759-67; to Cambridge 1767; voted a house and salary of £100.

⁴²Memorial, Bristol July 31, 1779.

⁴³Memorial, same date (*Jones*, p. 258).

1779, his departure having been delayed by a paralytic stroke, which combined with the miserable poverty he had to endure, ultimately caused his death in 1780.⁴⁴ His widow made a claim of £1,410 but was awarded only £296 10s.

The church wherein Serjeant had ministered so faithfully was, on his departure, turned into barracks, used by Captain Chester's company until December 1775, and subsequently deserted and neglected till 1790. It is reported that when Mrs. Washington was in town, she requested a service which was held December 31, 1775, the service being read by Colonel Palfrey with revised prayers. In contrast to the former elegance of the edifice and the usual smart gathering of wealthy parishioners and officials, only a small group attended, made up largely of army officers present by request, gathered in a lonely building with shattered windows, the metal organ pipes destroyed by patriot vandals; the whole imperfectly patched up at Washington's request.⁴⁵

The Rev. Edward Winslow⁴⁶ was appointed missionary at Braintree in 1763, also serving a similar parish at Bridgewater twenty miles away. Being convinced that a good part of the town was loyal,⁴⁷ he discounted threats and outrages against him, using the full liturgy, praying for the king on Sundays and Fridays until late in 1776. Although he had risked services for the small Tory group in Bridgewater, that church closed its doors in 1777. Winslow left for New York the following year, acting as chaplain there probably until his death in 1780, being buried in St. George's Church.

For more than thirty years the Rev. Ebenezer Thompson⁴⁸ labored faithfully at St. Andrew's Church in Scituate, only to receive brutal treatment at the hands of local patriots. He had been threatened in 1775, but since he too believed that most of his congregation could be won over to loyalty to the crown,⁴⁹ he remained at his post. As a result of a bodily disorder aggravated by uncivil treatment⁵⁰ accorded him, he died November 28, 1775, his long, patient teaching career so suddenly terminated by political upheaval. Having twice preached in Trinity Church, Boston, that notable layman, John Rowe writes that

"both these sermons were honestly designed but very lengthy"⁵¹

⁴⁴Died at Bath, buried with 14-year-old son who died at same time.

⁴⁵"*Dairy of Dorothy Dudley*", Jan. 1, 1776.

⁴⁶Educated at Harvard, served Stratford 1755-63, procuring first organ in Conn. in 1756, having a congregation of 150 after 7 years labor.

⁴⁷*Letters in 1774, 1776* (Perry, III., 573, 584).

⁴⁸Born 1712 West Haven; Yale 1733; convert; Ord. 1742; served 1743-76.

⁴⁹Perry, III., 589, 599.

⁵⁰Same, p. 583.

⁵¹*Diary of John Rowe, May 10, 1772.*

The mission included Marshfield, where loyal churchmen had their church arbitrarily closed.⁵²

In contrast to the situation in Connecticut, where the single English-born priest fled from his mission at the outbreak of hostilities, an Englishman among the Massachusetts missionaries quietly went about attending to the spiritual needs of his flock although his church was closed. The Rev. William McGilchrist⁵³ came to St. Peter's in Salem in 1746, devotedly serving there for thirty-three years. All kinds of annoyances were practiced against him; stones were hurled through the windows of the church during devotions, it being a common diversion for boys to "go and rock the Tory Church".⁵⁴ The large membership⁵⁵ soon dwindled when it became necessary in February 1777 to close the church. In order to break McGilchrist's spirit, the patriotic element tried to starve him out; but as he was old and infirm, their sporting sense apparently came to the fore, as they relaxed in their terrorism.

Indicative of the deep dislike harbored by dissenters for "churchmen", are passages in Samuel Curwen's⁵⁶ journal, where he writes from Bristol, England, on September 7, 1777 about a

"Dr. Stonehouse—his discourse serious & sensible & his delivery with becoming energy, very unlike the insipid coldness prevalent among the preferment seeking, amusement hunting 'macaroni parsons' who to the shame and dishonor of this age and nation constitute the bulk of those of the Established clergy that possess valuable livings".⁵⁷

Besides criticising "well-fed priests of large dimensions", Curwen praises

"Dr. Noel dean of Salisbury, the only Episcopal preacher that I ever saw or heard repeat the Lord's Prayer by heart; not one of them daring to trust to their memory except this man".⁵⁸

In 1771, the Rev. Robert B. Nickolls⁵⁹ came to Salem as curate and schoolmaster. The early days of revolutionary feeling found him a chaplain aboard H. M. S. "Bristol", being present at the attack on

⁵²Perry, III., 589, 599.

⁵³Born 1707 England; Balliol College; died 1780.

⁵⁴Foote, II., 307.

⁵⁵In 1764, of 4,500 population, 110 families were Anglicans.

⁵⁶Curwen (b. 1715; Harvard 1735; d. 1802) unpopular legislator at Salem; a loyalist, went to England; bitter on neglect to refugees, wavered between native urge and loyalty.

⁵⁷Journal Samuel Curwen.

⁵⁸March 29, 1782, Whitehall Chapel.

⁵⁹Born 1739; Queens Coll. Oxford 1766; curate King's Chapel; B. C. L. in 1778. Father held Govt. post, died in Revolution; family fled to Quebec, where brother's bravery against Americans was noted.

Sullivan's Island⁶⁰ and later serving army units in New York and Rhode Island as chaplain. Upon his settling in England, various livings were conferred on him, becoming dean at Middleham, Yorkshire, by 1786. His thundering sermons directed against the slave traffic and the French Revolution, later earned Nickolls some measure of fame in England, where he died October 11, 1814.

Following McGilchrist's death, the Rev. Nathaniel Fisher⁶¹ was called to Salem, but was arrested at Portsmouth as a British subject. The committee from St. Peter's procured his release when he took an oath of allegiance in 1782.

The large congregation of St. Michael's in Marblehead, which in the troublous time was materially reduced, had for its leader the Rev. Joshua Wingate Weeks.⁶² His quiet enjoyment of his charge was rudely interrupted when, in 1775, he was forced to flee with his family to Maine, where he owned some land. He arrived at Frankfort, April 26, 1775. The next morning he found a mob at the court house preventing him from unloading his furniture. After an hour's severe examination by the town committee, during which he was required to sign papers, he was allowed to land his goods. A further hostile demonstration took place in August of that year, when a musket aimed at the window of Bailey's parsonage failed to go off. The next year saw Weeks back in Marblehead among the many firm Tories there, using the full liturgy and therefor being confined to prison three times as well as starved. Marblehead was predominantly of Whig sentiment, many of the Episcopal laity being active in naval operations for Washington's army, and Weeks' loyalist stand troubled the church members greatly.

The General Assembly refused to let Weeks leave the country, summoning him with thirty others to swear allegiance to the American States which he refused, finally escaping⁶³ to Newport in July 1778. Upon his return from a trip to England where he managed to stir up trouble against the Rev. Edward Bass the following year,⁶⁴ he went to Halifax as curate at St. Paul's, but his irregular attendance there caused the Society to dismiss him from the post in favor of the Rev. Mather Byles in 1782. The resultant loss of position⁶⁵ provoked Weeks

⁶⁰*Ft. Moultrie, S. C. June 28, 1776.*

⁶¹*Born 1742 Dedham; Harvard 1763; S. P. G. School at Granville; Ord. 1777; at Annapolis N. S. 1778-81; died 1812.*

⁶²*Born Hampton, N. H.; Harvard 1758; Congregational pastor; Ord. 1763. One of originators of 1778 plan to make Penobscot a Tory haven. Son a captain of Nova Scotia Fencible Infantry.*

⁶³*Journal of Rev. J. W. Weeks on his trip to Newport, 1778.*

⁶⁴*Batchelder, "Hist. Eastern Diocese", p. 483.*

⁶⁵*He had been deputy chaplain at Annapolis Royal N. S., also curate at St. Paul's.*

to bitter enmity and we find him traveling about⁶⁶ for the next few years.⁶⁷

When the Society dismissed its missionary at Newburyport, the Rev. Edward Bass⁶⁸, it precipitated a long controversy over the actual status of Bass in a community where scarcely a single Tory was known.⁶⁹ This direct descendant of John Alden and Priscilla Mullens had been converted from his strong Puritanical heritage to the Church in which he was to gain such a high place. As evidence of the theological character of contemporary academic work, Bass' master's thesis bore the title of

"Will the blessed in the future world after the last Judgment make use of articulate speech and will that be Hebrew?"⁷⁰

When the offer was made of a curacy in Newburyport's Anglican society, Bass had to pass the inspection of Warden Atkins, who was led to remark

"Well, gentlemen, he pares an apple and lights a pipe more like a gentleman than any of the other candidates you have brought to me."⁷¹

Upon his acceptance, Bass settled down to parish work at St. Paul's. Always cordial and taking a prominent part in affairs, he preached at John Rowe's installation in 1768 as Grand Master of Masons in North America.

Being a very mild Tory, Bass agreed to omit the objectionable prayers, to the scorn of his colleagues. The S. P. G. withdrew its financial aid and dismissed him for disloyalty in 1779, reasoning that a conscientious loyalist would not have found the hearty welcome accorded Bass. Taking varied testimony⁷² into account, it appears that Bass, in his mild, balanced way was too compliant to the rebels, rather than decisively pro-American. His own letters⁷³ admit some of the implica-

⁶⁶At Preston 1793, Gaysborough 1795.

⁶⁷Died 1804, awarded pension of £21 till death and half pay £59 5s 7 as chaplain to King's Orange Rangers (app't, 1781) and £50 of a £150 claim, and £160 for loss of income.

⁶⁸Born 1726 Dorchester; Harvard 1744, with Cushing & Mayhew (was 21st out of class of 33); teaching; Congregational pastor; Ord. 1752; rector 1753, D. D., U. of Penn. 1789.

⁶⁹Perry, v. 3 p. 599.

⁷⁰Addison "Life of Bishop Bass", p. 7—Bass took the positive side of the question.

⁷¹Same, p. 14.

⁷²Perry, v. 3; Defended as loyalist by: Parker (615), Wardens (620), Customs Collector Atkins (635), Capt. Packer (619)—as conciliatory: Walter (609-614), Clark (612), Col. Frye (628).

⁷³Perry, III., 616, 617, 621.

tions found in the charges preferred against him, such as keeping fasts and feasts appointed by Congress.⁷⁴ In any case, the dismissal was upheld in 1785, and no reply was made to his claims of war losses.

Intellectual force or brilliancy could never be claimed for Bass, but his benevolence and simple humility entered into his election to the episcopate. In 1797 he was consecrated first bishop of Massachusetts at Philadelphia, later to have supervision over Rhode Island and New Hampshire. The Rev. Dr. Walter, one of those who had testified to his wartime loyalty, welcomed him to the diocese on behalf of the clergy. Bishop Bass' episcopal administration lasted but a few years, gout causing his death in 1803.

The most tragic figure among the many loyal missionary priests in Massachusetts, was the Rev. William Clark.⁷⁵ His post was at Dedham,⁷⁶ an agricultural section having 239 houses according to a census of 1765,⁷⁷ with the Anglican group proportionately small. He was a quiet, peaceable man, abstaining generally from the feverish political discussions, contenting himself with the pious hope

"May God open the eyes of an infatuated and deluded people before it is too late, that they may see how nearly their happiness is connected with a subjection to King and Parliament".⁷⁸

Church services and prayers for the king had been stopped in accordance with a recent dictum of the Whigs, but the more private offices, as baptism and burial, were carried on in private dwellings, the church being turned into a troop storehouse.⁷⁹ Two fleeing Tories asked for and received direction from Clark to an asylum in another county, for which he was listed as a town enemy and brought to trial in 1777. At the time of his arrest, he was

"carried to a publick house and shut up in a separate room for ¾ hour to view the picture of Oliver Cromwell".⁸⁰

Two other Tories in Dedham were the objects of Whig attentions; but since they were not particularly molested, one is led to believe that Clark suffered for heresy⁸¹ rather than treason, in the hopes that the

⁷⁴*Further charges were that he read the Declaration of Independence, preached for a clothing collection to aid rebel soldiers.*

⁷⁵*Born Danvers, Mass., son of Peter Clark; Harvard 1759; Ord. 1768; to Boston.*

⁷⁶*Also served Stoughton, S. P. G. supplying £20 out of £50 salary.*

⁷⁷*By Samuel Dexter, shows 1919 inhabitants.*

⁷⁸*"Commem. Discourses, Centennial of Church in Mass.", p. 32.*

⁷⁹*Worthington, "Hist. of Dedham", p. 70.*

⁸⁰*Report for 1778, p. 49/50 (Pascoe, "200 Yrs. of S. P. G.", p. 49).*

⁸¹*Worthington, p. 71.*

Colburn estate⁸² might go to interested parties with Clark driven off. His trial on June 12th in Boston progressed favorably despite absence of counsel, until he was required to swear allegiance to the Commonwealth. This he refused to do; as a result he was ordered banished to the West Indies as a felon,⁸³ but actually held aboard a guardship in the harbor. Poor Clark suffered with asthma and hard usage on the ship, ended in his losing the power of speech, which, added to his deafness, made him a pitiable figure. A local Whig, Dr. Ames, interceded for him, obtaining a license for his removal to the British at Newport in June 1778. In a long melancholy letter⁸⁴ to Dr. Chandler, Clark tells of the protests in Newport occasioned by the scarcity of provisions and the steady arrival of refugees. He had been advised to go to England which he reluctantly did, but as so many other suffering Tories discovered, nobody was anxious to help. The Rev. Mr. Weeks wrote⁸⁵ that the people in Newport subscribed £30 for Clark's relief, and while in England, both Chandler and Count Rumford urged an award of a £60 pension.

His first wife having succumbed to stark misery, Clark remarried⁸⁶ in 1786 and went to Digby, Nova Scotia, to rest and do some good in his priestly capacities. That his dream of tranquillity vanished is evidenced by a letter⁸⁷ to the Rev. Samuel Peters, in which he is concerned over criticism voiced against his acceptance of a pension, stoutly maintaining that if any act of disloyalty could be positively proved, he would consent to be hanged on the next tree. His wife needed a warmer climate and he received permission to go to the United States, where he died, 1815, at Quincy. His last days had become a bit more comfortable financially,⁸⁸ but his physical handicaps were a permanent memorial of patriot solicitude. At all events, Clark must often have wondered whether Parker and Bass had not embarked upon a more fruitful course.

III. RHODE ISLAND

With varied degrees of success the British army and navy held most of Rhode Island from 1776-79, being forced to stage occasional forays to subdue the more obstreperous rebels. A case in point was the 1778 attack on Bristol, when the town was burnt, St. Michael's Church

⁸²*This had been given as an inheritance to the Church. In addition, another influential Tory was not prosecuted at all.*

⁸³*Jones, p. 88.*

⁸⁴*London, Nov. 10, 1780 to Dr. T. B. Chandler, of New Jersey.*

⁸⁵*July 14, 1778.*

⁸⁶*Married a Mrs. Dunbar of New York, 28 years old.*

⁸⁷*Digby, May 21, 1787, denying any intent to go to United States as hinted.*

⁸⁸*His pension ran on, plus £30 for losses and £50 for income loss.*

being consumed as well.⁸⁹ At that particular place, the zealous and faithful Rev. John Usher⁹⁰ extended his ministrations to the negroes and Indians of the neighborhood, dying after a service of more than 50 years, in 1775. He was succeeded for a time by the Rev. Henry Caner, formerly of Boston, but the parish was more dependably served by John Usher Jr.,⁹¹ who acted as lay reader after his father died. This loyal soul began his career as a lawyer; then at the age of 53 felt it to be his duty to act as lay reader, gathering church members in the court house until a new church was built, 1786; obtaining holy orders in 1793 at the age of seventy.

In the person of the Rev. John Graves,⁹² missionary at King's Chapel, Providence, we have another outstanding example of that pious earnestness so characteristic of many S. P. G. priests. He had resigned a comfortable living in England to labor in a wild country, and he succeeded wonderfully. His church was always crowded; and he was held personally, in great esteem. The Rhode Island Whigs passed a decree on May 4, 1776, forbidding use of the king's name in all Rhode Island proceedings; and in July 1776, a fine of £100 on anyone preaching or praying for the royal family. In consequence, Graves

"saw fit to absent himself from duty though very earnestly requested to keep up the worship, saying he could not, as prayers for King George were forbidden."

The church was shut; but Graves remained, his support cut off,⁹³ to baptize privately and bury the dead until 1782. Notwithstanding his long, unselfish devotion to the community, the vestry voted his expulsion from glebe and parsonage, not reinstating him after the war.

Although Quakers dominated the Narragansett area of Rhode Island, an Episcopal church was built there as early as 1707, namely, St. Paul's, Kingston, an ugly timber church of Puritan type, used during the war as barracks. One of the ablest S. P. G. missionaries had labored there, the Rev. James McSparran, from 1720 to 1757. Fashionable gatherings attended on Sundays to listen to the preacher in his black gown and bands and silk gloves, exhort from his high pulpit. The Rev. Samuel Fayerweather⁹⁴ came in 1757; and by his quiet tactful-

⁸⁹Anderson, "*Hist. of Colonial Church*", III., 455.

⁹⁰Born 1689; Harvard 1719; Ord. 1722; S. P. G. to Bristol; crippled. His father had been Lt. Gov. of N. H.

⁹¹Lay reader 18 years.; Ord. 1793; rector till 1800; resigned, died 1804; born 1722; Harvard 1743.

⁹²Vicar of Clapham, Yorks; at S. Michael's, Bristol, 1780-4; died 1785. Brother, Rev. Matthew Graves at New London.

⁹³Letter Sept. 19, 1776 (Hawkins, "*Missions of the Church in N. A.*", p. 242)

⁹⁴Rev. Samuel Fayerweather; Harvard 1743, M. A. Oxford; Ord. 1756; convert; S. P. G. to Wineyard, S. C., before Rhode Island; married 1763 to Abigail Bours, widow Rev. Peter Bours.

ness and humor succeeded in gaining the esteem of all the varied dissenters. On one occasion in reprimanding the parish for poor attendance, he said :

"You have a thousand frivolous excuses—but there is none more common with you than the plea of foul weather, but come here and you will always find Fairweather".⁹⁵

When he refused to omit the prayers in question the church was closed, but private houses were opened to his preaching, while the more private offices were frequently said. He preached the last service in King's Chapel, Boston, prior to the Revolution, with Gen. Gage present.⁹⁶ In spite of his apparent official Tory position, Fayerweather not only took certain oaths to the Whigs, but personally favored the patriot cause. He was thereby able to function practically unmolested till his death in 1781, being buried under the altar beside Dr. McSparran.

Anglicanism was introduced⁹⁷ as early as 1694 in the Newport section, among the large Quaker population. The Society sent the Rev. James Honyman in 1704, who served till his death in 1750. A new beautiful timber church was erected in 1726, where the famous Dean George Berkely⁹⁸ preached to large gatherings upon his visit to this country. Trinity parish grew so prosperous, that, a few years before the Revolution, the Society had entirely withdrawn its subsidy. The Rev. Marmaduke Browne having died in 1771, the popular curate and schoolmaster, the Rev. George Bisset⁹⁹, became rector, extending his ministrations to the British army of occupation which evacuated Rhode Island October 25, 1779. Leaving his wife and children destitute, he departed with the troops, and the Whigs promptly seized whatever property was left behind, but later the furniture was returned to his wife¹⁰⁰. She was allowed to join him in New York¹⁰¹ the next year; and after a visit to London, Bisset went to St. Johns, N. B., as a rector¹⁰².

The British did not defile Trinity, although they turned other churches into stables; hence the retaliation when they left, by the Whigs who ransacked the church. An altar piece used since 1725, with the arms of Great Britain woven in the design and part of the carving, was ripped out by some young patriots who took it to the north part of the

⁹⁵Updike, "*Hist. of Church in Narragansett*", II., 48.

⁹⁶Gage came as governor May 1774, and this service was on Sept. 18.

⁹⁷By the Rev. Mr. Lockyer, petition to S. P. G. in 1702.

⁹⁸In 1729—later Bishop.

⁹⁹From England 1767,—sensible, scholarly, shy but esteemed.

¹⁰⁰Penelope, daughter of James Honyman, Jr.—married April 1773—accompanied Bisset to N. B., dying 1816 at age of 70.

¹⁰¹Sprague, p. 80;—while there he preached at St. Paul's and St. George's.

¹⁰²In 1786, dying there 1788.

town, set it up as a target and demolished it¹⁰³. The royal crown was left on the spire, as it was too hard a job to remove it.

The curate at Trinity, the Rev. Willard Wheeler¹⁰⁴, came from Maine in 1772, but his conduct of the parish school at Newport was unsatisfactory to the congregation. The Rev. Jacob Bailey of Pownalborough, Maine, throws interesting light on Wheeler's course in a letter¹⁰⁵ where he tells of

"Mr. Wheeler, who is neither Whig nor Tory, but so terrified with both as to retire from human society. He lives like a hermit and employs his time in making butter and cheese."

Apparently a good deal of churning was done, as he did not officiate until after the war when he was chosen rector of St. Andrew's, Scituate¹⁰⁶, having other small cures added as time went on.

IV. CONNECTICUT

At the outbreak of the Revolution, twenty priests of the Church of England were serving more than forty churches in Connecticut, concentrated chiefly in the southwestern portion of the province, but with other important parishes scattered along the Long Island Sound and along river beds. By 1774 it was estimated¹⁰⁷ that one out of every thirteen persons in the province was a member of the Anglican Church. The clergy were, on the whole, natives of the province, hence their appreciation of local political attitudes, resulting in the prudent position so generally adopted. A convention of the clergy held on July 23rd, 1776, considered their mutual problems, since all the missionaries left in their stations were, in varying degrees, of Tory persuasion. It was agreed that the public exercise of ecclesiastical functions should be suspended—a measure designed to save the Church from ruin, while ordination vows need not be broken. Even so, individual missionaries suffered from patriot zealots, while the outstanding Tory champion met death in his pulpit, having kept his churches open in defiant challenge of the new order.

When hostilities were over, the fifteen priests still laboring in Connecticut discovered that financial support by the Society was withdrawn, forcing them to rely upon impoverished parishes for support, presenting an embarrassing situation. A meeting held in Woodbury to discuss

¹⁰³Mason, *"Annals of Trinity, Newport"*, p. 24.

¹⁰⁴Born 1734 Concord; Harvard 1755; Ord. 1767; at Georgetown, 1768-72; died Scituate 1810.

¹⁰⁵Sept. 8, 1779. Letter by Parker June 21, 1784, tells of Wheeler on Boston farm.

¹⁰⁶Also served Trinity, Marshfield; later St. Thomas, Taunton, 1790.

¹⁰⁷Beardsley, *"Hist. of P. E. Church in Conn."* p. 288.

their status resulted in the withdrawal of a number of priests to posts, offered by the Society in neighboring British dominions. Curiously enough, the first bishop of Connecticut had been an ardent Tory, for that reason encountering opposition to his election, which was secretly voted in March, 1783, at Woodbury¹⁰⁸.

The oldest Episcopal edifice in Connecticut, Christ Church, Stratford, was built in 1724, although the parish had been organized in 1707, with thirty communicants. Following the ministrations of various missionaries, the distinguished Congregationalist convert, the Rev. Samuel Johnson¹⁰⁹, came in 1723. As the church grew ¹¹⁰, Johnson was given an assistant in 1764, the Rev. Ebenezer Kneeland¹¹¹, who succeeded to the rectorship in 1772, upon Johnson's death. On the Sunday after the Lexington battle, Kneeland was interrupted in his prayers for the king by a firm patriot, who, rising in his pew, denounced George III. and declared that prayers for him must never be uttered in Stratford again. The rector solemnly closed his prayer book, rose from his knees, and gave the benediction, upon which the church was closed till the end of the war¹¹². All the church-members were most ardent Whigs; and Kneeland found life miserable, virtually becoming a prisoner in his own house, where he died April 1777.

That relations between Tory and Whig were not always strained is brought out by an incident occurring in 1779/80 at Stratford, when salt had grown scarce. The civil authority induced an Anglican Tory, Mr. Vandyke¹¹³, then living there¹¹⁴, to make use of his wide contacts in New York in obtaining salt from the British under a truce. Some 2000 bushels were procured, sold to the farmers at \$5. per bushel, much to the indignation of poorer, hotheaded patriots. The incident was hushed up by the declaration that a "practical necessity" was existing, opposition notwithstanding.

About ten miles up the Housatonic at Derby was the station of the Rev. Richard Mansfield¹¹⁵. Puritan bitterness at his conversion was so great that, when he sailed to England for holy orders, his own sister

¹⁰⁸"*Jarvis Centenary Celebration 1879*", p. 10.

¹⁰⁹Rev. Samuel Johnson; to King's College in 1754; return, died 1772. Only surviving son, William Samuel, special agent for Conn. 1766, to plead for Episcopate; member of Council; chosen 1 of 3 to go to Philadelphia 1774, but sent a substitute. He was neutral after 1776, lived on estate; Pres. of Columbia; died 1819.

¹¹⁰To 442 communicants.

¹¹¹Yale, former chaplain in British regiment.

¹¹²Lucy Jarvis "Church life in Colonial Conn.", p. 26.

¹¹³Not listed as an S. P. G. missionary by Pascoe.

¹¹⁴Letter by John Brooks, 1841, cited in Hinman's "War of Revolution" p. 116/7.

¹¹⁵Born 1724, New Haven; father a Congregational deacon; Yale 1741; convert. Ord. 1748; D. D. Yale 1792, first Episcopalian to get the degree there. Parish #10, church in 1737, had 146 communicants in 1749.

prayed that he might be lost at sea¹¹⁶. This charming, scholarly priest was tireless in his performance of ecclesiastical duties, going on wide tours, keeping open house for numerous guests despite his moderate means, and steadily preaching peaceable submission to the king. In 1775 he estimated that, of the 130 families in the congregation, about 110 were steadfast, the others being led by a Captain John Holbrook, whose discontent over the choice of the church site had long been smouldering. The militia was sent in December of that year to quell the Derby Tories, leading Mansfield to write to Governor Tryon, listing the loyalists and predicting that several thousand sympathizers in the western counties could join the Regulars. A subsequent letter¹¹⁷ tells how it became necessary for him to abandon his family and flee to Hempstead when his dispatch had been intercepted. Later he returned to his post, being present at the Woodbury conference in 1783. Guileless, learned, and most polite, Mansfield served as rector for more than seventy years, although his voice failed about twenty years prior to his death in 1820.

The Anglican group at Fairfield¹¹⁸ developed into the strongest Church center in Connecticut, more than a third of the total population there being Churchmen. In 1774 the Rev. John Sayre arrived from Newburg, New York, just in time to experience the pre-war wave of fanaticism. But as he willingly renounced the rates due him, asking only a mere subsistence in addition to his S. P. G. bounty and medical fees, he was tolerated for a time. A Whig mob presently attacked his house, demanding his arms, but withdrew rather guiltily upon learning of the advanced stage of pregnancy of Mrs. Sayre. Although confined to his house and garden, and intercourse officially denied him, nevertheless aid came from parishioners by stealth, while he contrived to send his sons with food to certain Tories lodged in jail. Among the acts of the Committee of War, dated Jan. 28, 1777, it is recorded that

"a reverend clergyman of Fairfield was sent to the Governor and Council as being dangerous to this and the United States; who was ordered to the parish of New Britain, in Farmington, under the care of Col. Lee, and not to depart out of the limits of the society¹¹⁹."

The same body, under the date of July 25, 1777, decreed

"upon the desire of Peter Bulkley and others, Churchwardens, and Jonathan Sturges, Thaddeus Burr, etc. and at request of

¹¹⁶*Hawkins*, p. 324.

¹¹⁷*Dec.* 29, 1775.

¹¹⁸*Parish #2, Trinity Church 1725, 1738; Rev. Henry Caner, Jr. 1727-47; Rev. Jos. Lamson 1747-d1773; one who preached submission to the Stamp Act.*

¹¹⁹*Hinman, War of Revolution*, p. 407.

the civil authority, selectmen and committee of inspection at Fairfield requesting the Governor and Council that Rev. John Sayer might be released from confinement at Farmington and return to Fairfield to his care and charge, etc.

The Governor and Council directed said Sayer to be released from his confinement and permitted him to return to Fairfield and there to remain within limits of the first society by his giving bond with sufficient surety for his future good behavior, The bond taken by Jonathan Sturges and Thaddeus Burr, to whom he was delivered¹²⁰."

Gradually he was allowed to visit North Fairfield¹²¹ and Stratfield to conduct services. Being unwilling to mutilate the liturgy, he selected passages from the Old and New Testaments, the Psalms, the Homilies, using the Catechism on Sunday afternoons¹²². The British under Tryon attacked on July 7, 1779, burning the town; the Church, the S. P. G. library, and the church plate were consumed. When the Whigs fled, they took all carriages and vehicles with them, leaving the Tory group stranded. Sayre was left destitute, with a wife and eight children; hence his decision to retire with the British troops, arriving at Flushing. In 1782 he went to New Brunswick, Canada, petitioning the next year for a land grant, which was awarded. He was appointed by Lord Dorchester as a government agent at St. Johns, New Brunswick, to locate the lands granted in New Brunswick to American refugee loyalists; but his death in 1784 at Burton, cut short that estimable labor.

A church was built in 1763 at North Fairfield and served by the Rev. Mr. Sayre, galleries having been built to care for the flock which had more than doubled since its organization. But the patriots were eager to destroy the edifice, shooting bullets through the windows as a pastime, and generally defiled the church fabric. As a lay reader, the Rev. Philo Shelton¹²³ served Fairfield, North Fairfield, and Stratfield, being careful to avoid any strife, but sympathizing with the British.

Parish activities at New Haven¹²⁴ went quietly on, without any particularly serious interruptions, under the sober and benevolent guidance of the Rev. Bela Hubbard¹²⁵. Though not considered brilliant, Hubbard tempered his loyalist inclinations, and so was able to serve both

¹²⁰P. 471.

¹²¹1 Sunday at North Fairfield, 1 at Stratfield, 2 at Fairfield.

¹²²Letter, Flushing, Nov. 8, 1779.

¹²³Born 1754, Ripton; Yale 1775; Ord. 1785. He was first of family to have a college or professional training, was of 3d generation from Daniel Shelton, who settled town in 1680—a landed, Episcopalian family.

¹²⁴Church built 1753; Rev. Ebenezer Punderson 1753-60; Rev. Solomon Palmer 1763-6; Rev. Bela Hubbard 1767-. In 1772 Hubbard mentions 503 members.

¹²⁵Born 1739, Guilford, Yale 1768; convert. Ord. 1764; at Guilford, 1764-7. D. D. Yale 1804.

New Haven and West Haven¹²⁶ right on through the Revolution. He closed his churches in accord with the 1776 agreement for a while, but soon quietly re-opened them, even praying for

“Congress and the free and independent states of America.”

In July 1779, the British fleet under Sir George Collier, together with General Tryon's troops, occupied New Haven, plundering its neighbor, West Haven. Hubbard was treated with the utmost respect by the soldiers, despite his conciliatory attitude toward the Whigs. When in 1795 the town was afflicted by the yellow fever plague, this simple, reserved little priest, with wide social connections, courageously went about his mission, relieving suffering to whatever extent he was able. Hubbard's death in 1812 was genuinely lamented. Bishop Jarvis officiated at the burial.

Farther inland, with Wallingford as a base, the Rev. Samuel Andrews¹²⁷ served a territory about twenty miles wide¹²⁸ and occasionally made trips like that of 1767, when he journeyed 150 miles to Allington, New Hampshire. His Tory sympathies provoked Whig solicitude; and he was forced to give bonds to reside within parish limits, not being allowed to visit without permission. But, restricted as he was, Andrews labored steadily on during the Revolution. In 1786 he removed to New Brunswick, Canada, to become the first rector of St. Andrew's Church there.

The first Anglican service in Waterbury was performed in 1737, with a parish of six families, but growing within seven years to forty families, with proportionate increases as time passed by, served by numerous clergy¹²⁹. Churchmen were a numerous minority, causing jealousies and fears which manifested, among other things, a growing hostility over school districts. A vote was passed¹³⁰ in 1775 dividing the school district of Farmington and Wallingford Road into two, one for Presbyterians, the other for Anglicans. The Rev. James Scovil proved a discreet loyalist¹³¹; hence the earnest desire of the parish to have him stay at his post even though money was scarce. He divided his time in Waterbury, with the smaller charge at Christ Church, West-

¹²⁶Parish #9, had 220 members in 1772.

¹²⁷Born 1736; Yale, 1759; Ord. 1760/1; died 1818.

¹²⁸Letter of 1773 tells of serving Guilford and Killingsworth one Sunday a year each. Union Church 1741 with North Haven & Cheshire; Cheshire Church 1770.

¹²⁹By Rev. Jonathan Arnold till 1740; Rev. T. Morris 1740-2; Rev. John Lyon 1743-7; Rev. Richard Mansfield till 1759.

¹³⁰Benry Bronson, "History of Waterbury" p. 331.

¹³¹Born 1732; a weaver; Yale 1757; M. A. Kings College 1761; Ord. 1759; died 1808.

bury (now Watertown)¹³² Scovil was badgered a good deal, often sleeping away from home to escape sudden midnight visits, but on the whole, the populace respected his courage in remaining at his mission. Finally in 1785 he went to New Brunswick, but contrived to make frequent visits to Waterbury, to meet old friends, till in 1788 he removed to Kingston, Kings County, New Brunswick, where he died 1808.

A native son, the Rev. Ebenezer Dibblee¹³³ was stationed at the sleepy town of Danbury¹³⁴, where a church had been built about 1763. When in 1777 a large force under Tryon raided the town, it was discovered that the local church and meeting house had been used by the American commissioners as storage places for military supplies. The British spared the Anglican edifice, taking the stores out into the street to burn them, but saw to it that the meeting-house was entirely consumed along with the stores. Although Dibblee labored on at his post during the Revolution, he evidently did not have a pleasant time, judging from a letter¹³⁵ by Dr. Seabury, where he relates that

“— Dibblee has gone to Sharon to be inoculated for small pox, and possibly to enjoy a few weeks of rest from persecution.”

Following his service at Newport, the Rev. Jeremiah Leaming¹³⁶ was sent to Norwalk in 1758, where he continued his publications defending the cause of Episcopacy. Despite the many outrages perpetrated in connection with the Stamp Act, he was convinced that a little vigorous teaching would bring the submission of church-members to British authority. This kind, inoffensive, little man soon received a call from the “Sons of Liberty”, who, entering his house, hung his picture upside down on a sign post, and carted him off to jail¹³⁷. Being refused even a bed while locked up, Leaming contracted hip trouble, making him a cripple for life; hence the later description¹³⁸ of him as being of ashen and withered features, small, emaciated, and very lame. Tryon’s

¹³²*Begun in 1742, had 20 members in 1764. Scovill spent one-third of his time there.*

¹³³*Born 1715 Danbury; Yale 1748; Congregational license 1734/5; Ord. 1748; served Greenwich and Stamford too. Columbia D. D. 1793; died 1799 Stamford. (Updike.)*

Sabine (v 1. p. 379) lists a Rev. Frederick Dibblee as born 1753 Stamford, Kings College—S. P. G. post at Stamford—ordered out by Selectmen in 1783 never to return—became rector Christ Church, Woodstock, N. B., died 1823.

¹³⁴*Only big event previous to Revolution was the dysentery epidemic of 1775 wherein 130 persons died, more than in the war.*

¹³⁵*Hinman, p. 307.*

¹³⁶*Born 1717 Middletown; Yale 1745; D. D. Columbia 1789; convert; lay reader; Ord. 1747; Newport 1747-58; served 21 yrs. at Norwalk; 8 yrs. at Stratford, at Ridgefield—died 1804 New Haven.*

¹³⁷*Beardsley, p. 316.*

¹³⁸*Letter by Miss M. L. Hillhouse, 1855.*

1779 expedition burned the church among other buildings, causing Leaming, as he writes¹³⁹ to lose all, £1200, etc., retiring to the New York base of the troops. Following the war, when the Woodbury conference was considering the choice of a bishop, Leaming's name was proposed; but he declined due to his advanced age.

The Rev. John Beach¹⁴⁰, the missionary at Newtown and Redding¹⁴¹, had as a pupil of Dr. Cutler been converted, causing a good lady to aver that she

"knew Mr. Beach would turn Churchman for she never heard of anyone that kept reading Church books but what always did¹⁴²."

He earned the reputation of being the boldest and most aggressive Tory among the native Connecticut clergy. In a letter of Oct. 2, 1765, he wrote that he was unable

"to discover in any of the Church people the least inclination to sedition and rebellion against their mother country on account of the Stamp duty."

Militiamen set out in 1775 to subdue the Tories in that section¹⁴³, and as Beach refused to sign the Articles of Association, he was put under bond not to bear arms or discourage enlistment. While his colleagues agreed to suspend public services, Beach kept his churches open throughout the war, affirming that he

"would pray and preach for the King till the rebels cut out his tongue¹⁴⁴."

The loyalist association in Redding was quite strong, yet it is hard to believe that Beach could keep his church there up to his standard during the winter of 1779 when General Putnam was encamped in the immediate vicinity¹⁴⁵. This bold but gentle priest later wrote¹⁴⁶ that

"Newtown and Redding are, I believe, the only parts of New England that have refused to comply with the doings

¹³⁹July 1779, cited in Hawks & Perry "Documentary Hist. of P. E. Church" II. 203; a new temporary church was built, used by Dibblee.

¹⁴⁰Born 1700; Yale 1721; Congregational convert; Ord. 1732; declined offer in 1750 by Newport; preached at 1760 clerical convention.

¹⁴¹Newtown 1732, church 1746. Redding parish 20x12 miles, church 1734.

¹⁴²Burroughs "Hist. of Christ Church", p. 9.

¹⁴³Letter by Rev. Wm. Mansfield 1775 (Hawks & Perry, p. 199).

¹⁴⁴Perry, *Hist. Amer. Church*, p. 460.

¹⁴⁵Beardsley, p. 319.

¹⁴⁶Oct. 31, 1781.

of Congress, and for that reason have been the butt of general hatred."

A group of patriots, having watched him enter the prayer desk and begin prayers for the king, aimed muskets at him. A shot actually struck the sounding board, but Beach calmly continued, saying

"Fear not them which kill the body but are not able to kill the soul; but rather fear him which is able to destroy both soul and body in Hell."

This declaration apparently squelched further action for a time. Although afflicted by colic the latter thirty years of his life, making travel a hardship, he managed to build up his parishes amazingly, so that in 1774 in Newtown, there were 1084 Episcopalians to 1084 dissenters.¹⁴⁷ Beach's heroic career was terminated in 1782, death resulting from a bullet fired at him¹⁴⁸ while preaching in his beloved church.

The missionary at Woodbury, the Rev. John Rutgers Marshall¹⁴⁹, was the recipient of any number of malicious Whig attentions. He was waylaid and beaten; and whenever he walked about town, people openly sneered at him, throwing over-ripe vegetables at him, while at various times, throughout the Revolution, he was ejected from the pulpit of St. Paul's Church when attempting to preach. Marshall hit upon the idea of preaching on the Sabbath (when the Puritans would take no action) and then hiding in secret passages of his house during the week, forestalling all Whig efforts to punish him for his audacity.

For almost twenty years the Rev. Richard S. Clarke¹⁵⁰ was stationed at New Milford, quietly serving at his post during the period of political upheaval, but withdrawing in 1787 to New Brunswick, Canada, to serve at Gagetown for twenty-five years, and then as the beloved first rector at St. Stephen's for the next thirteen years.

The last candidate to go abroad for holy orders before the war was the Rev. James Nicholas¹⁵¹, the missionary at Northbury and later at Litchfield¹⁵². The preponderance of Whig Congregationalists at Northbury forced the closing of St. Michael's Church; and although

¹⁴⁷In 1733 there was 44 communicants, in 1771 there were 327, by 1781 there were 600; while at Redding (1781) there were 330 members.

¹⁴⁸March 19, 1782—"Jarvis Centennary", p. 117.

¹⁴⁹Born N. Y.; Kings College; convert Dutch Ref. Church; 1771; d. 1789.

¹⁵⁰Born 1737; Yale 1767; Ord. 1767; d. 1824. Parish organized 1743, served by Rev. John Beach; 1754 Rev. Solomon Palmer; 1767 Clarke.

¹⁵¹Yale; Ord. 1774; lived in Bristol.

¹⁵²Litchfield church built 1749; convert Rev. Solomon Palmer 1754—died 1771; Rev. Richard Mosely from Pomfret 1772, ousted; Nichols 1775.

Nichols remained with his parishioners during the hostilities, he felt obliged to withdraw in 1785. While at Litchfield, the American troops systematically sacked the church, earning a sharp reproof from General Washington.

One of the far inland parishes of Connecticut, now included in Massachusetts, was that of St. James' in Great Barrington, served by the Rev. Gideon Bostwick¹⁵³. His mission was of wide extent, necessitating much traveling, but his fidelity and zeal surmounted the physical hardships. Although a royalist, his sensible attitude, coupled with a wide popularity, made it possible for him to continue at his post throughout the Revolution. In evidence of his generosity, there is the story of a seventeen-year old soldier boy¹⁵⁴ encamped with others at Great Barrington, noticed by Bostwick on a visit to the camp who said,

"You are too young to be among the soldiers, come and stay at my home."

This kindness was remembered, and in later years, the young man, then matured, became a zealous churchman.

In contrast to the militant loyalism of Bishop Seabury, the second bishop of Connecticut was more moderate in his allegiance to the crown, although his brothers were known as ardent Tories. A most dignified, neat, old-fashioned churchman was the Rev. Abraham Jarvis¹⁵⁵, stationed at the flourishing parish of Middletown. It was not unusual for him to be called upon to draw up varied public papers, thereby earning some small fees which helped to alleviate his poverty¹⁵⁶. He presided at a convocation of the Connecticut clergy on July 23, 1776, at which his proposal to suspend public worship was agreed upon by those present¹⁵⁷. Nevertheless, in 1781, he re-opened his church, performing services, but omitting the objectionable prayers. There were several plots to kill Jarvis; for example, one day while returning on horseback from a pastoral visit, he fell in with a ruffian sent out to kill him, but having spoken so carefully and civilly, the hunter was unable to screw up courage enough to commit the murder¹⁵⁸.

He was appointed in 1785 to greet Bishop Seabury on behalf of the clergy; and twelve years later, he himself succeeded to the

¹⁵³Born 1742 New Milford; Yale 1762; convert, lay reader 1766; Ord. 1770 till death 1793; married girl of Dutch descent. Served S. Luke's in Lanesborough one Sunday out of four. In his years of labor, he baptized 81 adults, 2,244 children, married 127, buried 84.

¹⁵⁴Judge Moore of Renselaersville, N. Y. (Sprague V. 1, p. 277).

¹⁵⁵Born 1739 Norwalk; Yale 1761; father an Episcopalian convert in 1737. Lay reader; Ord. 1764; rector at £70/yr.; married 1766-1801, 1806; D. D. Yale 1796.

¹⁵⁶Letter 1773, Rev. Mr. Leaming asked S. P. G. aid for Jarvis.

¹⁵⁷Sprague v. I. p. 237.

¹⁵⁸"Jarvis Centenary", p. 92.

episcopate, being consecrated October 18, 1797, at New Haven. As a bishop, Dr. Jarvis was noted for discipline and order, being meticulous about clerical dress. An amusing incident is related¹⁵⁹ in connection with his habit of smoking a pipe, a circumstance which led him to avoid any further smoking. He had retired to an adjoining room to smoke, after entertaining several southern ladies at tea, when, upon hearing a shriek, he rushed into the room to find one of the women overcome by his smoke. Asthma bothered him severely until his death, May 3, 1813, ended the career of a gentlemanly priest and bishop, who numbered among other honors the grand chaplaincy of the Royal Arch Masons.

When the incumbent¹⁶⁰ of St. Andrew's, Simsbury, began to show evidences of a disordered mind, the Rev. Roger Viets¹⁶¹ was sent to that station. After a long and pleasant ministry, he was accused in 1776 of helping Tories confined in the mines¹⁶² to escape. Being sentenced in January, 1777, to a year's imprisonment and a £20 fine, this courageous priest was shut up with several hundred church members in Hartford jail. He prayed with them twice a day, preached twice on Sundays, and when three of them were put to death, he administered the Eucharist to them¹⁶³. The May, 1777, session of the General Assembly enlarged his confinement, allowing him under a bond of £1000 confinement within town limits, providing he did not do or say anything against the United States within the time for which he was sentenced. In 1786 he went to Digby, Nova Scotia, to round out his priestly career till his death in 1811.

The most obnoxious Anglican clergyman encountered by the Connecticut Whigs, was the Rev. Samuel Peters¹⁶⁴ of Hebron. This ambitious and imprudent gentleman in his love for king and hierarchy aped the British nobility; having a country house in the forest and keeping a coach. Scorn for the Whigs became an outstanding characteristic of the tall, muscular and pompous priest. As patriotic demonstrations grew in fervor prior to the war, he was prone to write inflammatory epistles about the dissenting clergy, for example,

"the Episcopal Church must soon fall victim to the rage of

¹⁵⁹*Sprague, V. II, p. 239.*

¹⁶⁰*Rev. William Gibbs, b. 1715; Harvard; came in 1744, refused to pay Congregational taxes, arrested, tied over a horse, carted to Hartford jail; grew sick, invalid 23 yrs. till death in 1777.*

¹⁶¹*Born 1737; Yale 1758; convert, lay reader, Ord. 1763; petty persecutions, paid 2 rates—parish grew—welcomed on 1800 visit.*

¹⁶²*Beardsley, p. 316 (later called Newgate Prison).*

¹⁶³*Letter Oct. 29, 1784.*

¹⁶⁴*Born 1735; Yale 1757; Ord. 1759; LL. D. from Scotland; buried three wives, 1760, 1769 (died 20 days after marriage at 17), 1774.*

the Puritan mobility if the old serpent, that dragon is not bound."¹⁶⁵

Further endearing himself to the militant clergy of Whig sympathies he wrote that

"spiritual iniquity rides in high places with halberts, pistols and swords . . .".

The patriots finally tired of his intemperate outbursts; and in August, 1774, a mob dragged him out of his house intent upon tarring and feathering him; but more moderate counsel prevailed. Peters had met the crowd arrayed in his robes for protection; but the exasperated Whigs seized him to "the damage of his garments", carried him to the horse-block behind the meeting house, and forced him to read a prepared confession, whereupon he was freed. A letter of later date relates that

"The Sons of Liberty have almost killed one of my church, tarred and feathered two, abused others, and on the 6th day destroyed my windows and rent my clothes, even my gown—their rebellion is obvious, treason is common and robbery is the daily devotion . . .".¹⁶⁶

He left at once for Boston and thence to England, where he continued to lash the Americans with his pen, the ludicrously biased "History of Connecticut" being a sample. Before leaving the country, however, he threw a scare into the patriot ranks when his letter to his mother, telling of the dispatch of six regiments and warships to hang the rebels, was intercepted.

Not having exercised his ecclesiastical functions during the twenty years he spent in England, it became impossible for him to obtain testimonials when, in 1794, he was chosen bishop of Vermont. That was the occasion for his penning an elaborately embellished "Apostolical Epistle to my dear children in the Lord"¹⁶⁷ Nothing, however, came of the plan, Peters not even applying to the American bishops for consecration. Following difficulties with Pitt, his pension was withdrawn in 1803/4, so that a trip to America was obligatory¹⁶⁸ for financial reasons. But all his grand plans exploded, one after the other, till he was forced to live in New York upon the charity of his intimates from 1818 till his death in April, 1826. Peters had been

¹⁶⁵Van Tyne, "Loyalists in American Revolution" p. 110.

¹⁶⁶Oct. 24, 1774, to Dr. Auchmuty (Boston Evening Post).

¹⁶⁷Sprague, "Annals of Amer. Pulpit" V. p. 195.

¹⁶⁸He tried to sell his land grants to Indians, but was involved in legal difficulties because of his sales methods.

a trouble-maker all the way through, even stooping to slander the first bishop of Nova Scotia, Dr. Inglis¹⁶⁹. His self-important attitude precluded all sincere friendship.

For almost thirty years the Rev. Christopher Newton¹⁷⁰ was stationed at Ripton, continuing to serve his parish during the war, and being one of the ten clergymen meeting at Woodbury in 1783 to discuss their status. The Society's last new enterprise before the Revolution, was the establishment of Trinity Church in Pomfret (Brooklyn), under the patronage of wealthy Godfrey Malbone. The church was built in 1771, and was served for a short time by the Rev. Richard Mosely¹⁷¹, his successor being the Rev. Daniel Fogg¹⁷². Fogg remained at his post throughout the war, but when he petitioned the selectmen in 1782 for permission to go to New York to obtain funds from the collection sent to Dr. Inglis, he was refused. When his church was closed up, Fogg held services in Malbone's home. Although offered the Narragansett parish (R. I.) in 1784, he declined to change posts.

The sole English-born priest in the province, was the missionary at New London, the Rev. Matthew Graves¹⁷³. For that reason he was generally misunderstood despite his sincere, rather Methodistical piety. He was choleric, petulant and hasty, with the result that he was largely left to himself. Those of Congregationalist persuasion looked upon him as a friend; and there is recorded the refusal by the wardens of St. Paul's, Narragansett, in 1757, to let him succeed the Rev. Doctor McSparran

"as he has lately given great offense to his brethren and us, by being officious in settling a dissenting teacher at New London, and injudicious enough to be present at his ordination".¹⁷⁴

He had been warned not to pray for king or parliament, but he persisted. One day a crowd of Whigs lolled about the church vestibule, waiting for Graves to begin the objectionable prayers, and when the time came, a signal was given to the brothers Mumford¹⁷⁵, both of powerful frames, who ascended the pulpit-stairs, each taking an arm of Graves, and brought him "expeditiously to the level of the floor".¹⁷⁶ Further handling was forestalled by two women in the congregation who

¹⁶⁹Jones, *"Loyalists of Mass."* p. 73.

¹⁷⁰Yale; served 1755 till death 1787 (resignation in 1783).

¹⁷¹Had been chaplain aboard H. M. S. "Salisbury"—left for Litchfield where he got into trouble.

¹⁷²Harvard; served 1772-1815, sober, quiet; parish dwindled in war.

¹⁷³Served 1747-79; brother of Rev. John Graves.

¹⁷⁴Frances Caulkins, *"Hist. of New London"*, p. 446.

¹⁷⁵Thomas and David, the former an agent of secret committee of Congress, one of eleven who successfully raided Ticonderoga in 1775.

¹⁷⁶Caulkins, p. 446.

formed a screen, allowing Graves to flee, in his surplice, to the home of John Deshon, a Whig churchwarden, following which the church was locked. St. James' Church was not made up of Puritan converts but Anglicans who naturally adhered to the Anglican communion.

At a parish meeting on Nov. 14, 1778, the wardens¹⁷⁷ offered to open the church if Graves would act sensibly, but he was firm in his refusal, thereby incurring added hostility. At this time he grew so poor that he was forced to sell all his furniture and a negro girl. In August, 1779, the naval agent of the port, Mr. Shaw, sent him to New York under a flag of truce, along with his maiden sister. Parish officers were chosen in September, and the search for a priest suitable "respecting the prayers" begun, the church being opened in 1780 only as an accommodation to the Congregationalists whose edifice was on a bleak hill, the winter being particularly severe. Graves, of short and thick stature and inclined to corpulence in later years, had always feared apoplexy, from which he actually died while officiating in St. George's, New York, April 5, 1780. After his death, his sister returned to New London, there being the June 25, 1780, note,

"voted that Mrs. Joanna Graves has liberty to enter the parsonage house after 29 August next, and enjoy 1 bed room and 1 lower room until a minister is called to officiate in the church of S. James."¹⁷⁸

The British fleet, by its activity on the Sound, had been a constant threat since 1776, leading to privateering ventures; but a direct attack came September 5, 1781, when Benedict Arnold, in an effort to destroy shipping, landed 900 men from 32 ships at night. This sudden manoeuvre created wild confusion, so that resistance was useless, farmers taking in the refugees as they fled from the fires set by the troops. No less than 65 houses, 31 stores, 18 shops, public buildings, etc., were destroyed, as was St. James' Church. The parish records of October, 1781, mutely tell the story:

"Sold the old iron, nails, etc., left of the Church of S. James after it was burnt, at vendue to Wm. Stewart for £13 2s, credited on Mr. Stewart's book to the Church."¹⁷⁹

The church as Groton¹⁸⁰ was burnt along with the town by another force under Lieutenant-Colonel Eyre, which attacked Fort Griswold, defended by a small force of poorly armed patriots, some of whom fought on after the general surrender. Hence the ruthless massacre by

¹⁷⁷Thomas Allen, John Deshon, both Whigs.

¹⁷⁸Caulkins, p. 447.

¹⁷⁹Hallam, "Annals of S. James Church", p. 62.

¹⁸⁰Parish organized 1734; church 1738 in village of Poquetannock.

the British. Having devastated the country side, the fleet put out to sea after setting bombs in the fort, the fuses of which were put out by American volunteers.

The early center of the Church of England in Norwich¹⁸¹ was at Chelsea, where a church was built in 1749, and served by a number of missionaries until the Rev. John Tyler¹⁸² came in 1768. His father-in-law was Isaac Tracy, a Whig and Congregationalist deacon, a fact which probably had an effect in his decision to reopen the church in November, 1778, after having closed it according to the 1776 agreement. In the meantime, Tyler had conducted services in his house, and though he dreaded his enemies enough to be wary about drinking his own well-water, no general trouble was experienced. Convinced of his duty to minister to his parish, the popular missionary omitted prayers for the king¹⁸³, causing a previously meagre audience of twenty to increase rapidly, so that by 1780 it was possible to repair the church and add a porch, steeple and bell. Tyler's prudence and charity, together with his medical skill, earned him a rich reward in the knowledge of having served as a true missionary.

Although the scene of his parochial labors was in Westchester, the Rev. Samuel Seabury¹⁸⁴ became so intimately a part of Connecticut's ecclesiastical life that the career of that militant Tory must be included here. His defense of the crown was most outspoken; it being his opinion that the political crisis would lead people back to the Church of England. On Nov. 22, 1775, he was seized in his grammar school by a group of "Sons of Liberty" under a Captain Lathrop and taken under guard to New Haven, accused of having plotted to capture Captain Isaac Sears, traveling through Westchester. Having been paraded in triumph at New Haven, he was kept in a Mrs. Lyman's house four weeks under guard incommunicado¹⁸⁵. Upon his release in January, 1776, on the representations of New York authorities, he found his family and house in utter confusion. Things were rather quiet till the British left Boston, thereby giving occasion for the rebel army en route to New York to stop over in Westchester to insult and revile Seabury. Some maliciously offered \$100 to know who A. W. Farmer¹⁸⁶ was, to stick him with a bayonet, or have him roasted. When the New York council, in sympathy with the Declaration of Independence, decreed death for

¹⁸¹In 1726 Thomas Grist and Edmund Gookin held meetings in their houses.

¹⁸²Born 1742; Yale 1767; Ord. 1768; died 1823.

¹⁸³Caulkins, "*Hist. of Norwich*" p. 455.

¹⁸⁴Born 1729; Yale 1748; medicine in Scotland 1751; Ord. 1753; New Brunswick, N. J. 1754-7; Grace Church, Jamaica, 1757-66; to Westchester; D. D. Oxford 1777; died 1796.

¹⁸⁵Beardsley, "*Life & Letters of Bp. Seabury*" pp. 36-42.

¹⁸⁶The pen name (a Westchester Farmer) of a pamphlet defending the crown, supposedly written by Seabury.

anyone abetting or aiding the royal forces, Seabury found himself in a quandary, deciding at last to suspend public services.

Various military encounters went on near his house, there being rebel breastworks at Kingsbridge; but Seabury made himself scarce, finally escaping to Long Island, while cavalry were billeted in his house and lofty St. Peter's Church was turned into a hospital¹⁸⁷. Because of his knowledge of the ground, Seabury went along with the British on their march through Westchester, later definitely allying himself with Fanning's Loyal American Regiment as chaplain.¹⁸⁸ He was awarded a pension by the crown after the war; and this fact, among others, led the opposition to his choice as bishop of Connecticut. Seabury's name was distasteful to Whigs of the communion due to his war-time activities; but after much bickering, it was agreed to send Dr. Seabury abroad to obtain consecration. This he received in Scotland on November 14th, 1784, thus becoming the first bishop of the American Church.

V. NEW HAMPSHIRE.

The first priest of the Church of England to officiate in New Hampshire was the Rev. Richard Gibson, who had been sent out in 1637 to organize the Church in Maine, following the decision of Sir Ferdinando Gorges to colonize his extensive land grants there. Gibson was summoned to the General Court in Boston in 1642 for using the Anglican rite, but though no penalty was imposed¹⁸⁹, he returned to England the following year. There was a blank for the next ninety years, until in 1732 the wooden Queen's Chapel was erected at Portsmouth. Four years later, the Rev. Arthur Browne¹⁹⁰ was inducted, to find instant favor by his quiet, well behaved manner, gaining rather wide publicity by celebrating the marriage of a servant girl to Governor Benning Wentworth at a dinner party. Browne died in 1773, being buried in the Wentworth tomb in the church graveyard. The loyalist, the Rev. Mather Byles, served in 1775-6 on his way to Halifax; but no other rector was appointed until 1786. In the meantime, the church was ruined, its windows broken and otherwise defiled, in keeping with the destructive tradition of revolutionary movements. There is, however, the story of a warden, a rebel general and the commissary of the province, who refused to allow a clergyman who had abjured the king

¹⁸⁷*Letter New York, Dec. 29, 1776.*

¹⁸⁸*February, 1778.*

¹⁸⁹*Nathaniel Adams, "Annals of Portsmouth" p. 27.*

¹⁹⁰*Born 1699, Ireland; Trinity College, Dublin, 1729; Ord. 1729; at Providence 1730-6. Daughter married Rev. W. Serjeant. Son the Rev. Marmaduke Browne (b. 1731 Providence; Trinity College, Dublin, 1754; S. P. G. assistant to his father till 1760; Trinity in Newport; d. 1771).*

to preach on the grounds that he had perjured himself and broken his ordination vows.¹⁹¹

As the "itinerant missionary in the province of New Hampshire", the Rev. Moses Badger¹⁹² served that province from 1767 to 1774 when he fled, going to Halifax in 1776. He was in New York in July, 1779, as he reported the death of Leverett Saltonstall, and later acted as chaplain to DeLancey's 2nd battalion. After the war, Badger served King's Chapel, Providence, Rhode Island, from 1786 till his death, 1792.

A number of emigrants from Farmington, led by a Captain S. Brooks, of Anglican persuasion, settled the town of Claremont, New Hampshire, in 1767, the first in the Connecticut Valley north of the Massachusetts line. The parish was organized by the Rev. Mr. Badger, who served it till 1774 in his capacity of itinerant missionary. The year previous, the Rev. Ranna Cossit¹⁹³ became rector; but due to his firm loyalist stand, he was confined to the town limits as early as April 12, 1775.¹⁹⁴ Nevertheless, Cossit persevered, holding regular services¹⁹⁵ not omitting prayers for king and parliament, but using in addition those prayers appointed "for time of war and tumult", and regularly administering the Eucharist except twice when wine was not available. As church membership increased, fines were levied for refusals to bear arms against the king, causing many parishioners to flee or be banished. In 1778 this courageous priest was included among the many churchmen for 200 miles up the Connecticut river who were marched through mud, beaten, and imprisoned.¹⁹⁶ These prisoners were billeted in private homes at their own expense, but such concessions did little to alleviate the intense misery and ravaging sicknesses endured. Cossit left Claremont in 1785, and by 1794 was at Sidney, Cape Breton, but dying in 1815 at Yarmouth, Nova Scotia.¹⁹⁷

VI. MAINE.

Charles I had, in 1636, granted all Maine territory west of the Kennebec River to Sir Ferdinando Gorges, who soon sent out his nephew, William Gorges, as governor. When Massachusetts purchased the territory in 1677, rigorous Puritan control was assured, against

¹⁹¹Perry, III., 599.

¹⁹²Harvard 1761; he married daughter of Judge Saltonstall (Mass.); Leverett and Col. Richards were brothers.

¹⁹³Served 1773-85; he was first rector collated in the parish by Gov. J. Wentworth.

¹⁹⁴Letter, New York Jan. 6, 1779 (Hawkins, p. 258).

¹⁹⁵The question of payments for his preaching and visiting 1777-8, 81 are noted.

¹⁹⁶Letter Quebec, July 20, 1778, from Col. John Peters to his brother.

¹⁹⁷Batchelder puts his death in 1815, while Perry, "Hist. Amer. Church" tells of his conversion to Roman Catholicism in 1818. Pascoe, "S. P. G. Digest," p. 861, lists his death as March, 1815, at Yarmouth.

which the Anglican group in Falmouth (now Portland) protested in vain. They invited a Congregationalist pastor to go to England in 1764 for holy orders, building a neat little church while he was abroad. The Rev. John Wiswall¹⁹⁸ soon built up his congregation to a respectable size, since more than a hundred residents reclaimed as Anglican church members the taxes assessed by the local Congregationalist divine¹⁹⁹ in 1771. But disaster befell Falmouth, as the town was burned in October, 1775, by Capt. Henry Mowatt, R. N., under orders of Admiral Graves. Wiswall had the misfortune to be seen in friendly conversation with Mowatt, whereupon the Whig committee seized him, mobs fired at him, and finally he was jailed for a short time.

Abandoning his property, he fled to Boston, his wife and daughter following with only two days' provisions and wearing apparel, and then both dying upon reaching Boston. After serving two regiments as deputy chaplain, he went to England in 1776. Further adventures are recounted in a letter of 1780, by the Rev. Samuel Peters,²⁰⁰ wherein he tells of Wiswall's being three years in the West Indies aboard the ship "Boyne". In 1781 he was curate at Oxford, then at Suffolk. After the war he served in Cornwallis, Nova Scotia; in 1798 at Wilmot and Aylesford, where he died in 1812. Massachusetts had proscribed and banished him,²⁰¹ but his financial position was improved by his marriage in 1784 to a Carolina refugee.²⁰²

Among many small settlements dotting the banks of the Kennebec river was that of Gardiner,²⁰³ named for its founder, the distinguished layman, Dr. Sylvester Gardiner.²⁰⁴ His large medical practice as well as his pharmacy brought rich returns, most of the surplus going into land investments, particularly in Maine. In Gardiner he built houses, mills, shops, etc., beginning in 1772 to erect St. Ann's Church, a project which was interrupted by the Revolution. Being an ardent loyalist, he perforce had to leave Boston when the troops did, with the result that all his property was confiscated, but through a technicality, the estate was returned to his heirs, after the war.

Ten miles below Gardiner and on the other side of the river, was Frankfort (now Dresden), a settlement of German immigrants begun in 1751 by the Plymouth Company. They had been offered a hundred

¹⁹⁸Born Boston; Harvard 1749; convert, Ord. 1764. Married 1761 a daughter of John Minot, later Judge of Ct. of Common Pleas; both sons were lieutenants in Royal Navy.

¹⁹⁹Rev. Sam Deane (Jonathan Greenleaf, "*Eccles. Hist. of Maine*" p. 225); squabble ended when church was burned.

²⁰⁰London, August 1780.

²⁰¹Act of September 1778.

²⁰²Widow about 48 years old, lost son and 2 daughters too; ample estate.

²⁰³On west side of river, 4 miles below Hallowell.

²⁰⁴Sister married Rev. Mr. McSparren, himself marrying daughter of Dr. Gibson in Boston. Medicine in London, Paris 8 yrs.; died 1786.

acres, six months' stores, passage from Boston, protection by a fort, on condition that each one build a 20'x18' house within three years and clear five acres.²⁰⁵ It was hard to fell big timber and winters were severe, so that no thought was given to religious establishments until 1754 when they petitioned the S. P. G., with the result that the Rev. William Macclenachan served there till 1758, the church being built by subscription during the next ten years.

By 1760 Pownalborough became the shire town of Lincoln County, with numerous buildings put up by the Plymouth Company, centering an aristocracy there, which was hostile to the Rev. Jacob Bailey²⁰⁶ when he came July 1, 1760. He was a convert from Congregationalism, had gone to London and had been tremendously impressed by the magnificence of empire; so that when the Revolution began, he believed it madness to oppose the power of Great Britain, especially when the movement was led by the rude, ignorant characters with whom he had come in contact.

Bailey's optimism regarding the mission seemed justified as the church flourished, a parsonage being erected, 1771, and the church incorporated by the General Court in 1773. His gardens claimed his spare time which was little enough, as he covered Gardiner and Georgetown in addition to Frankfort. But then political persecution began. During the winter of 1774 he was mobbed on his travels due to the closing of Boston Harbor, and then again when news of Lexington came. When a son was born May, 1777, Bailey deliberately christened the baby Charles Hugh Percy,²⁰⁷ in loyal honor of Lord Percy, active at Lexington. At Frankfort, a Whig warden²⁰⁸ blusteringly called the youths to assemble on New Year's Day 1776 for a liberty defense, and when twenty refused there was much profanity and drinking. Some bright light urged that Bailey be forced to consecrate the liberty pole, this being lost by only two votes. Upon his refusal to observe thanksgiving days set apart by Congress, half the parishioners withdrew. He writes that

"my Presbyterian neighbors were so zealous for the good of their country that they killed 7 of my sheep out of 12, and shot a fine heifer as she was feeding in my pasturage."²⁰⁹

²⁰⁵"*Frontier Missionary*" p. 74.

²⁰⁶Born 1731 Mass.; Harvard 1755 with John Adams, John Wentworth Jr., Judge B. Sewall, Senator Dalton, etc.; Congregational pastor 1758; convert, Ord. 1760; Married former pupil (Sprague p. 204) in 1761; she died 1818 at 70, hence born 1748, so married at 12 yrs.? Public opinion condoned cardplaying and drink by clergy.

²⁰⁷Capt. in British Army; was killed battle of Chippewa, war of 1812.

²⁰⁸Bartlet, "*Frontier Missionary*" p. 111.

²⁰⁹Dep. sheriff Goodwin, jailkeeper and churchwarden.

His journal for 1776 shows the steps²¹⁰ by which he was limited in activity, but he courageously continued praying for royalty in spite of a warrant out for him. In fact he had to skip in the middle of the night, Oct. 15, 1777; but he was able to get back by Christmas to find his family had been cared for by friends. No funds had been able to get through since June, 1775, so we find Bailey riding to Boston to wheedle some cash and a new set of clothes out of sympathetic Tories. Threats of jail, if ever he publicly or privately officiated again, were brushed aside for, in December 1778, he was still ministering to the hundred-odd Tories. Although permission had been granted for his departure to Nova Scotia, no opportunity presented itself till June, 1779. There he had trouble with the harsh General McLean, successor to the more kindly Arbuthnot, but managed to get an army chaplaincy²¹¹ in addition to his post at Cornwallis.²¹² He fared no better at St. Luke's, Annapolis, where the parish did not support him, the situation being complicated by his demand for the fortress chaplaincy²¹³ in place of the Rev. Mr. Weeks. But things brightened up after a while. His daughter conducted a girls' school; yet despite all the bits of cash collected, Bailey never freed himself from debt, dying in 1808 from dropsy.

The countless hardships experienced by the refugees coming to Nova Scotia, are partly recited in a letter of October, 1783, wherein he notes that 400 in a convoy of 5 ships, 8 brigs, etc., perished in a storm. Of the 1000 refugees, some hundreds were stowed in his church—a penniless, forsaken and pathetic group. His brother Nathaniel had moved into the parsonage when Bailey left, staying for a year. St. John's Church²¹⁴ was practically stripped, the windows taken out and carried off, and little could be done towards repair as the war was a considerable drain on the resources of a frontier town.

VII. CONCLUSION.

As the varied experiences of the Anglican clergy in New England during the Revolution have been traced in some detail, the outstanding impression gained is that of a large number of loyalist missionaries suffering all sort of privations for what they believed to be

²¹⁰*Bartlet, p. 112; May 23, summoned before committee; May 24, examined; May 28, laid under bonds; Aug. 11, forbidden to pray for king, only delivered sermon; Oct. 28, before committee for not reading Declaration of Independence, for praying for king & preaching seditious sermons.*

²¹¹*Dep. Chaplain 84th Reg. 1780 for six months.*

²¹²*In 1780, where most of the parish defended the American cause. He had to teach school extra to get cash.*

²¹³*Appointed dep. chaplain at Fortress in Jan. 1794 by Gov. J. Wentworth.*

²¹⁴*Built by aid from Dr. Gardiner, erected 1770—a letter by Maj. Samuel Goodwin from Pownalborough, June 9, 1784 (Bartlet, p. 277).*

moral obligations to the Church of England. The clergy stationed at the New England missionary outposts were not, for the most part, able to interpret their ordination vows as vows of loyalty to anyone who claimed to be in authority. Some few entertained a different point of view. To them the call of the priesthood to minister to the needs of individual souls far outweighed technical considerations of political allegiance. Hence the warm welcome extended by patriot hosts to gentlemen of Dr. Parker's stamp and popularity, while clergymen of loyalist persuasion, such as Dr. Leaming, courageously faced fanaticism and usually exile. It was exile indeed for that great number of native New Englanders, educated at Yale or Harvard, of early Puritan training, but converted after diligent study of the faith and order of the Church of England.

Anglicanism was never welcomed in the Puritan stronghold, and the early fanaticism that had opposed the devout layman Caleb Heathcote, who protected his parson's services with pistols, never really died. The churchmen waxed strong in numbers and prestige as time went on, necessitating a grudging amiability on the part of dissenters; but when revolutionary agitation grew so well under Yankee guidance, it was very easy to fan the old flame into life, particularly since the alien Church was led by frankly loyalistic clergy. Rigorous colonial statutes were drawn up, to the express embarrassment of the Anglican liturgy, resulting in suspension of public services by conscientious priests, who were forced to flee or stay and be humiliated.

On the one hand, it may be argued in justice to the dissenters that the persecution heaped upon the loyalist clergy was more political than religious; that the outbreak of war loosed pent-up emotions and gave rise to that mob frenzy and intolerance which one finds in all wars; that no body of clergy should have bound up with their solemn ordination vows questions of political allegiance which may in times of public heat seriously interfere with, if not altogether prevent, the exercise of their primary duties of spiritual ministrations to the people committed to their pastoral care.

On the other hand, it must be admitted by the candid student, whatever his sympathies may be, whether Whig or Tory, that through all of the many unfortunate events that made up the experiences of the Anglican missionaries in New England, regardless of their stand on political allegiance, one shining quality pervades their actions: they faced their individual problems with fearless courage, privately ministering as opportunity offered, yielding to the new order or else leaving their native shores, administering the sacraments as often as possible—true missionary priests of a great Church, divided as to political beliefs, but united in the common aim of service to humanity.

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THE EFFORTS OF THE S. P. G. TO CHRISTIANIZE THE MOSQUITO INDIANS, 1742-1785.

*By Frank J. Klingberg.**

THE patterns of colonial penetration into the Americas of the eighteenth century, reflecting, as they did, changes in the map of Europe, are of more than ordinary interest today when the maps are again changing and the American Mediterranean is assuming a new importance. From the standpoint of imperial rivalries and trade relations, this Anglo-colonial world has already been studied, but too often overlooked are the small failures, or the slight successes; and seldom have the attitudes of the natives themselves toward this penetration been assessed. The fighting stamina of certain Indians, the Auracnians in Chile, for example, or the hazards of wilderness and climate, have delayed, and at times wholly prevented a complete subjugation of a region.

The hardy Mosquito Indian nation, settled on the eastern shore of Nicaragua, and on the islands of the bay of Honduras, and probably extending as far south as the mouth of the San Juan river, has been chosen as the focal point for this study. Rich in the small details which reflect both native conditions and culture on the one hand, and the reverberations of international intrigue on the other, are the records of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts,¹ whose missionaries followed the British trader throughout the Anglo-American colonial world, from Nova Scotia to Barbados, undertaking a program for the white occupants and the native peoples.

For about a century, from 1660 to 1763, the Mosquito Shore was a major stake of diplomacy between Great Britain and Spain, due, primarily, to the value of the logwood trade.² Beginning early, when a number of Englishmen settled here and engaged in exporting mahogany, cocoa, sarsaparilla, and tortoise shell, the Mosquito Shore entered the field of international colonial rivalry. As early as the seventeenth century, English Puritans had established on the islands off this Shore,

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¹Hereinafter referred to as the Society or the S. P. G.

²For an account of the logwood trade, see Florence M. Cook, *A Study of the British Logwood Trade, 1660-1783*, an M. A. essay in the Yale University Library.

at Old Providence, an enterprise whose great importance was set forth fairly recently by Professor Arthur P. Newton.³ Cromwell keenly regretted the loss of this station. Other traders from the West Indies frequently visited this region so that the Indians became identified with British interests and wished to become British subjects.

The strategic position of Jamaica was such that it served as the clearing house for eighteenth century trade, not only along the Mosquito Shore, but also for the bay of Campeche, Darien, and the Old Spanish Main of northern South America. Jamaica, therefore, was the center of a small colonial world of its own, the base from which missionaries, as well as traders, set forth upon their enterprises.⁴ Moreover, while Jamaica was always the chief entrepôt, the trade was in dispute between the people in the British Isles and the traders in the northern American continental colonies, with ships from Boston, Newport, New York, and Philadelphia participating in large numbers in this commerce. Whether American colonials were acting legally or illegally under the Navigation Acts, was a matter of controversy which British authorities seemed unable to settle. Even as early as 1679, forty-seven sailing vessels from New England, Ireland, and Madeira were in Jamaica, unloading provisions before departing for the Mosquito Shore.⁵ Not even the shattering blows of the war of the Spanish Succession settled the logwood controversy between Spain and Great Britain, the former denying the latter's right to cut logwood and engage in this commerce at all, while Britain was satisfied to carry on the trade illicitly. Only in 1763 was Spain forced to permit the British to cut and carry logwood unmolested.

The preceding hundred year period, then, had been one during which the Anglo-American world had exerted increasing pressure against Spain in the Caribbean, culminating in the Peace of Paris at the end of the Seven Years' War. The rapid growth of the British continental colonies was increasingly reflected in the penetration of their ships into English, Spanish, and French Caribbean possessions. Arms and ammunition, British officers and a few white soldiers, traders, and Anglican missionaries and teachers were joined together in varying proportions to make the British ingredients of an alliance for defense

³Arthur P. Newton, *The Colonizing Activities of the English Puritans*, (Oxford: 1914), *passim*.

⁴The Caymans, south of Cuba, the Caicos and Turks Islands, geographically a part of the Bahama group, were dependencies of Jamaica. For a discussion of a nineteenth century inter-denominational activity in these islands, see Frank J. Klingberg, "The Lady Mico Charity Schools in the British West Indies, 1835-1842," in *The Journal of Negro History*, XXIV, pps. 291-344, July 1939.

⁵For an account of Anglo-Spanish and Anglo-Colonial commercial rivalry, see Charles M. Andrews, *The Colonial Period of American History*, (New Haven: 1938), pps. 85-108, including the illuminating footnotes.

against Spanish conquest. By 1770, the three British settlements of Black River, Cape Gracias à Dios, and Blewfields on the Shore, totaled 1,400 inhabitants, about one-seventh of whom were white.

This particular story of the attempt of the S. P. G. to Christianize the Mosquito Indians, opens quite abruptly in May, 1739, with a remarkable letter from Edward, the new king of the Indians, to Governor Trelawney of Jamaica. In clipped phrases, not unlike the "business English" of today, the Mosquito king stated his case almost bluntly, including all the contradictory factors which were part of the plan of British penetration. The king wrote:

We your lawful Subjects do thank you for your care and assistance to us, . . . We humbly beg you will help us with the following things; a Commission for Edward King of the Moskitos, a Commission for William Britton, Governour-General Hobey now lying dangerous sick. . . . Likewise your assistance in sending us some Powder, Shot, Flints, Small-Arms & Cutlasses, to defend our Country & assist our Brothers Englishmen, & a good Schoolmaster to learn & instruct our young children, that they may be brought up in the Christian Faith: All we beg that he may bring with him is Books, & a little Salt, . . . we shall take care to provide for him such as our Country Can afford. These necessities we humbly beg you will assist us with & we always shall be ready upon a call to serve you & take care of any of your lawful Subjects in our own Country. We humbly beg leave to title ourselves your true subjects & loving Brothers.

EDWARD—King elect.

Thomas Porter }
Jacob Everson } Captains

being all the Persons we were at home.⁶

In December, 1742, this appeal was laid before the Society, accompanied by a letter from the Rev. Joshua Peat, rector of James Town in Jamaica.⁷ Mr. Peat emphasized the precarious condition of the Mosquito Indians, who, he declared, deserved the attention of the members. He believed the Mosquitoes were loyal friends of the English, and desired to be united with them, both in religion and government, pointing out that "A large party of them were actually on the march to join the English in the late intended expedition to Panama," and concluding that there were "political as well as religious motives for sending

⁶*Edward, king of Mosquito Indians, to Governor Trelawney, May 19, 1739, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.) B 13, No. 2.*

⁷*Joshua Peat (sometimes spelled Peatt) was later transferred to St. Thomas', Jamaica.*

a grave discreet clergyman among them, supported by a handsome competency from home.”⁸

The secretary of the Society, Philip Bearcroft, wrote to Governor Trelawney and Mr. Peat in February, 1743, informing them that the subject had been considered by the Society:

. . . w^{ch} are come to the Resolution thereupon of sending a Missionary & Schoolmaster to the Moskitos to begin the good Work, and are looking out for tried & approved Persons now in their Service for that Purpose, but the Society desire y^r Excell^y to be so good as, in the Mean Time, to advise them where it may be most proper for the Missionary & Schoolmaster to be settled, what Salary may be sufficient for each of them, and whether any annual, or other Assistance in this expensive undertaking may be hoped for from the Government or Other well disposed Persons in the Island of Jamaica, whose neighbourhood to & Commerce with the Mosquito Indians, cannot but stir their Bowels of Compassion towards them: likewise that you would be pleased to communicate to the Society any Directions which you shall think proper to be given to the Missionary & Schoolmaster for the better Success of this new undertaking.⁹

Governor Trelawney's reply, dated May 24, 1743, gives so graphic a picture of this closely-knit West Indian world, as well as the effects of Spanish penetration, that it is worth quoting at some length:

. . . As to the safety of the Missionary . . . he will be very secure. The Spaniards have for a long while given over the thoughts of conquering these People & have not molested them time out of mind, as far as I ever heard: their Passes, their Poverty & above all the weakness of the Spaniards themselves, who are thinly scattered over a wide Country, sufficiently defend them. As to what support the Indians may be ready to give him, I cannot answer: they are poor, but I refer to their Letter odd as it is, . . . & as for any encouragement and assistance that may be expected from the Island of Jamaica; he may be sure, if he calls in here, of all civility from the Principal Inhabitants & myself. I communicated your Letter to the Council who very much approve of the Pious design; to speak my thoughts of which, these Indians, besides the claims w^{ch} they have in common with other Savages to the Charity of the Society, have a demand in justice upon the Nations; as they

⁸Joshua Peat to Dr. Wilson, June 20, 1742, in *Journal of S. P. G.*, (L. C. Trans.) Vol. IX, December 17, 1742. Mr. Peat said the Mosquito Indians had always been independent of the Spaniards, and had for some years declared themselves subjects of Great Britain.

⁹Philip Bearcroft to Edward Trelawney, Charterhouse [London], February 24, 1743, in *S. P. G. MSS.* (L. C. Trans.), B 13, No. 18; see also *S. P. G. MSS.* (L. C. Trans.) B 10, No. 203.

have learnt most of their Vices particularly cheating & drinking from the English. They ought, in recompense to receive some good & learn some virtue & Religion too.

It may not be improper to acquaint you that when this War broke out with Spain, I sent one Mr. Hodgson, whose abilities I had a good opinion of, to take upon him the Command of the Mosquito Shore & about a Year & a little more agoe he was sent out again by General Wentworth with the Command of a Detachment of about thirty Soldiers . . . that he might head the Indians & make them usefull against the Enemy; but I had it always greatly in my view to civilize them too, & gave it strictly in charge to him to use his utmost endeavours to do so. . . . He acquainted me some time agoe that he had got a Man to teach the children to write and read.

A settlement being begun at the Island of Rattan which is in the neighbourhood of the Mosquito shore, it will be more comfortable for a Missionary now, than it was before.

I sent my Lord Bishop of London a Copy of the Mosquito King's Letter . . . but I fancy it miscarried, as I had not the honour of an answer, or perhaps the oddity of the stile might make his Lordship think that the King & I were not so serious as I am sure I was, & I believe he was too.¹⁰

Joshua Peat's reply to the Society's communication, equally detailed and revealing, gives further background for the missionary enterprise as proposed. His letter, dated November 1, outlined not merely plans for the Mosquito Shore Indians, but also for the numerous Sambla Indians at Darien. This Darien episode calls to mind the earlier Scottish attempt to found a colony in the Darien region, and is of particular interest as showing the constant economic penetration by the British into this wide area. As in other cases, the interests of the missionary, of government, and of trade, are closely related. Peat's correspondence showed him as a well-informed religious coordinator of an enterprise operating under eighteenth century conditions of communication and management. For its value as a commentary on the events of the time, as well as for its curious combination of piety and practicality, this letter is quoted in detail:

. . . I Think Proper further to Acquaint you that since I came from Sea and Rec^d yours I have spared no Pains or Expence to gain the best Information I could of the situation of the affairs, not only of the Mosketos, but also of the Darien Indians with Regard to the English. When his Maj^{ties} Ship the Shoran was sent over Pursuant to an Order of a General Council of War held wⁿ the Grand Army & Navy were here, with Arms

¹⁰Governor Trelawney to Philip Bearcroft, Jamaica, May 24, 1743, in *S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.)*, B 13, No. 1. There was a British man-of-war stationed constantly at Rattan (sometimes spelled Ruatan or Roatan) in the bay of Honduras.

and Amunition to the Sambla Indians at Darien, They Thought proper in Testimony of their Affection & Attachment to the English, & in Gratitude for so Signal a Favour, to Send over Five of the Youth of their Principal Families to be Educated here in Jamaica. They are a very mild Disposition & seem quite Satisfied with their Situation. They all speak pretty good English & 2 or 3 of them already Read & Write Tolerably Well. It was Stipulated by their Parents that they should be sent over Annually to see them but the Youth are so well pleas'd with their kind Treatment that they are Unanimously Resolved to Return as soon as possible. One is Educated by his Excell^y the Other Four by Messrs. Dicker, Manning, McFarlin, & Woodcock, Merch^{ts}. When they are Properly Educated & Instructed in the Principals of the X^{tian} Religion there cannot surely be a better Opportunity, than with them to send over One or Two Aged & Venerable Missionarys as they will not only be Interpreters, but also assist them in every Step in the grand Affair, in Instructing their Relations and Country Men in the great Lines of their Duty & of how great an Advantage in its Consequences, such a firm Union with these Populous Nations at Darien would be to the British Trade belongs not to my Province to Determine But without Doubt Darien is one of the best Situations in all South America for carrying on an Advantageous Trade with the Spaniards as the Head of the Gulf, or rather the River that runs into it, is very convenient to carry on a Trade with Panama, Guatemala, & Acanipulco [Acapulco, Mexico] to the N. West & also Guaiquil [Guayaquil] of Lima.¹¹ It is further Observable that this Grand Affair might be this way Accomplish'd without the Expence of Money & Loss of Men that would Unavoidably Attend the Setteling a Colony There Which was Attempted by the Scotch in King William's Time under the name of Calidonia, and If I am rightly Inform'd has been Talked of in England not long ago. If the Mission to the Musketos should Succeed, & Pardon me if I say it as I am Importuned to do it, A Clergy Mⁿ from England of at least 45 or 50 Years of Age who Undertook this Weighty Affair out of a Principal of Conscience would with Divine Assistance, be the most likely to do so. In this Case I am in Hopes our Assembly might be Prevailed with to give Two or Three Hundred pounds p. Annum for the Support of a Mission to Darien. In the present Case money might have been raised by Subscription but that I thought not a proper Method to Proceed in. However those of my Breathrn the Clergy that I have had Opportunity to Apply to, To shew Their Readyness to Promote so Pious an Undertaking have Each of us Subscribed Five Pistoles, a Copy of w^{ch} I shall send you with my next. The whole will I Presume amount to about forty or fifty Pounds, w^{ch} we Intend to lay out in Flower Rum & Wine, w^{ch} are I am told, the chief

¹¹Written on the manuscript is the following notation: "The foot of page is partly torn or cut off—some words may be missing. Tho' there is no trace of any."

if not the only Things a Person can want on that Coast. This together with the Education of the Youth Mentioned above, and Gover^r Trelawney's Supporting an Able Schoolmaster at the Musketos as Preparatory to a Missionary I Place to the Articles of Encouragement that this Island gives.¹²

Further encouragement from Governor Trelawney, suggesting that work among the Mosquitoes would offer no difficulties, "except perhaps some little variance in their humors," and recommending that "without doubt, the best place for the missionary to reside in at first will be at Black River on the Moskito Shore as a trade is settling there which will bring some merchants thither as well as probably the best white men that are along the coast"¹³ was received by the Society. A second letter from Mr. Peat who had conferred with Governor Trelawney, offered assurance as to the security of the missionary post, due not only to the "attachment of these people . . . to us," but also to the fact that "there are several Englishmen settled among them, and Mr. Pitt who acts as chief justice there, has an exceeding good character."¹⁴ He further believed that the missionary should not meddle with the trade nor local government of the Mosquitoes but confine himself wholly to religious instruction.

On the basis of these detailed reports, the S. P. G., in February 1744, decided to send a missionary to the coast.¹⁵ It also resolved to send a schoolmaster and a catechist to the Indians, each to receive £40 yearly from the Society, with such other grants as could be obtained from Jamaica and from the Indians themselves.¹⁶ Then began the difficult task of finding the man, equipped in all particulars, to be sent as missionary to the Mosquitoes.

On May 28, 1744, the secretary wrote to James Moir, missionary in North Carolina, asking him to consider the office on the Mosquito Coast.¹⁷ Evidently nothing came of this, for over a year later the Society was still searching for a candidate. Dr. Samuel Johnson, of Connecticut, wrote to the secretary in September, 1745, that Nathan Prince, of that colony, would be willing to undertake the work among

¹²Joshua Peat to [Philip Bearcroft], Jamaica, Nov. 1, 1743, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B 13, No. 4, Duplicate.

¹³Governor Trelawney to [Philip Bearcroft], Jamaica, October 25, 1744, in Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.), Vol. X, November 15, 1745.

¹⁴Joshua Peat to [Philip Bearcroft], Jamaica, November 1, 1743, in Journal of S. P. G., (L. C. Trans.), Vol. IX, June 5, 1744.

¹⁵An Abstract of the Proceedings of the S. P. G. printed with the John Gilbert Sermon (London: 1744), pp. 50-51, (Huntington Library).

¹⁶Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.), Vol. X, Nov. 15, 1745.

¹⁷Philip Bearcroft to James Moir, [Charterhouse, London], May 28, 1744, in S. P. G. MSS., (L. C. Trans.), B 13, p. 50. Bearcroft wrote, "If you shall be quite wearied out, where you are, let me know . . . whether you find yourself heartily and devoutly disposed to . . . undertake that truly Apostolic office [Mosquito Shore] . . ."

the Mosquitoes.¹⁸ After inquiring into the morals and orthodoxy of Mr. Prince, Mr. Bearcroft informed Johnson:

. . . the Society invite him [Prince] to come immediately to England for Ordination, and bring with him any one of the young men who is of age, & a candidate for Holy Orders & the Society will allow such Young Person £40 p. Ann: to accompany Mr. Prince in the Quality of Schoolmast^r to them, & he may expect a Share in the other Allowances & Assistances given to the Missionary. The Society hath This Matter at Heart, & you will do them a very acceptable Service, & it is hoped to be very instrumental in the Propagation of Gospel, by recommending Mr. Prince. . . .¹⁹

The following year, on June 30, 1746, Mr. Prince²⁰ was notified by the Society that he had been selected for appointment to this position, after his ordination in England had taken place.²¹ In April, 1747, he arrived at Dover, having acted as schoolmaster on the vigilant man-of-war in which he had crossed. From Dover he wrote that he "had no proper clothing to appear in in England and knew not where to get money . . . unless the Society would advance part of his salary before hand."²² After some consideration, he was allowed £10 to proceed to London, and directed to bring a certificate of sobriety and good behavior from officers of the ship, some question regarding his temperance having arisen. When these certificates were procured, the Society agreed to recommend him to the bishop of London to receive Holy Orders, and granted him ten guineas for his immediate support.²³ At the same time an offer was received from the Rev. Charles Boschi, missionary at St. Bartholomew's, in South Carolina, to assist with the work on the island of Rattan.²⁴ Mr. Boschi had been appointed chaplain to the garrison on the island, and believed he could combine the

¹⁸Hawks and Perry, *Documentary History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America*, Vol. I, p. 216.

¹⁹Philip Bearcroft to Samuel Johnson, London, Nov. 20, 1745, in S. P. G., MSS., (L. C. Trans.) B 13, p. 366.

²⁰Mr. Prince grew up near the Indian villages in New England, and had preached to them, and was employed by the commissioners of Indian Affairs to make a report of the tribes. Nathan Prince to [Secretary] Dover, April 13, 1747, in *Journal of S. P. G.*, (L. C. Trans.), Vol. X, May 15, 1747.

²¹Philip Bearcroft to Nathan Prince, Charterhouse, London, June 30, 1746, in S. P. G. MSS., (L. C. Trans.) B 16, fol. 205. In August of 1746, Roger Price, in Boston, was looking for some one who would accept the office of schoolmaster to the Mosquitoes. See Roger Price to Philip Bearcroft, Boston, November 4, 1746, in S. P. G. MSS., (L. C. Trans.) B 14, p. 5.

²²Nathan Prince to [Secretary], Dover, England, April 13, 1747, in *Journal of S. P. G.* (L. C. Trans.) Vol. X, May 15, 1747.

²³Report of Committee on Mosquito Indians, in *Journal of S. P. G.* (L. C. Trans.), Vol. X, July 17, 1747.

²⁴Charles Boschi to [Secretary], St. Bartholomew's, South Carolina, August 22, 1747, in *Journal of S. P. G.* (L. C. Trans.), Vol. XI, February 19, 1747/48.

work among the Indians with his other duties. But in 1749, as he was preparing to go to Rattan, the Crown ordered the garrison reduced and he remained in South Carolina.²⁵

In the meantime, Prince proceeded to the Shore,²⁶ stopping over in Jamaica where he procured letters of recommendation from Governor Trelawney to Captain Pitt, the chief justice on the Shore, and was advised to settle on the Black River.²⁷ The governor informed the Society ". . . that Mr. Prince seems a very proper person to go as missionary to the Mosquito Indians and . . . The assembly of Jamaica voted Mr. Prince a gift of £100 and the Governor promised to try to have the gift made annually."²⁸ But four months later, the governor sadly conveyed "the melancholy news of poor Mr. Prince's death, w^{ch} happen'd a few days after his arrival at Rattan."²⁹ Undaunted by the difficulties already encountered, the Society determined to provide a new missionary for the Mosquitoes as soon as convenient,³⁰ and set about the task of finding a proper person.

The Rev. Henry Jones, missionary at Trinity Bay, Newfoundland, petitioned for the vacant post, and, on April 14, 1749, the Society agreed to appoint him, granting a gratuity of £40 for the expenses of his voyage.³¹ But on Jones' arrival in Jamaica, he wrote:

. . . 'Tis said that the Indians do not inhabit among them [the settlers] but in the Country, and put their children whilst very young, on providing their own food, so that there's but little likelihood that they will allow them time to come to school.³²

²⁵Charles Boschi to [Secretary], *St. Bartholomew's, South Carolina, August 3, 1749, in Journal of S. P. G., (L. C. Trans.), Vol. XI, November 17, 1749.*

²⁶The bishop of London having decided that, since the mission was not to "any of his Majesty's colonies or Subjects, he cannot certify to the Treasury" in Prince's behalf for the £20 usually allowed for such a voyage, the Society agreed to advance Prince a year's salary, "exclusive of the 20 guineas already advanced for his support." See *Report of the Committee on the Mosquito Indians, in Journal of S. P. G., (L. C. Trans.) Vol. XI, May 18, 1750.*

²⁷Nathan Prince to [Secretary], Jamaica, June 2, 1748, in *Journal of S. P. G., (L. C. Trans.), Vol. XI, October 21, 1748.*

²⁸Governor Trelawney to [Secretary], Jamaica, July 30, 1748, in *Journal of S. P. G., (L. C. Trans.), Vol. XI, January 20, 1748/49.* This gift was made possible through the efforts of a certain Richard Beckford of St. Iago de la Vega, Jamaica.

²⁹Edward Trelawney to Philip Bearcroft, Jamaica, October 14, 1748, in *S. P. G. MSS., (L. C. Trans.) B 16, No. 161.*

³⁰*Journal of S. P. G., (L. C. Trans.), Vol. XI, January 20, 1748/49.*

³¹*Journal of S. P. G., (L. C. Trans.), Vol. XI, March 17, 1748/49.* Mr. Jones had been in the Society's service in Newfoundland for 25 years, see *S. P. G. MSS., B 16, No. 4.*

³²Henry Jones to Philip Bearcroft, Kingston, Jamaica, March 29, 1750, in *S. P. G. MSS., (L. C. Trans.) B 18, No. 82.*

The heat and other hardships apparently discouraged Mr. Jones,³³ and, on April 12, 1750, Governor Trelawney wrote the Society that he had appointed Jones to the vacant parish of St. Anne because he felt the new appointee and his wife could not settle on the Shore, and that a younger, single man would be better for that mission.³⁴ On the further recommendation of the Rev. Joshua Peat, the Society agreed to allow Jones to accept the post at St. Anne.³⁵

Not until 1765,³⁶ did the man appear whose courageous spirit, adaptability, and hardihood brought to the Mosquito Shore the qualities necessary for success in the mission. Christian Frederick Post, a Moravian, was a veteran Indian missionary.³⁷ For twenty-two years he had worked among the Delawares at Descarona, about 100 miles from the Fort Pitt location in Pennsylvania, and, during the French and Indian war, he had lost all he had. From this disastrous uprooting he proceeded to look for a new location, traveling through Maryland, Virginia, North and South Carolina, and finally landing on the Mosquito Shore in 1765. On April 10, of that year, he wrote the Society from Black River that:

. . . General Tempest, a chief among these Indians gave him a call for that purpose. He [Mr. Post] has already built a Church and schoolhouse at Patooke River, 60 miles from Black River . . . On his arrival at the Mosquito Shore he found 200 or 300 Mustee people uninstructed in the Christian religion, tho' most of them have been baptized by straggling ministers, who never inquired whether they were prepared for baptism or not, receiving money for every person they baptized. For his own part, he has never taken money of any person for preaching the gospel or administering the holy ordinances. The Mustees are begotten by Englishmen and are almost a nation. He has preached among them with good success and

³³Henry Jones to [Secretary], Codrington College, Barbados, January 18, 1749/50, in *Journal of S. P. G.*, (L. C. Trans.) May 18, 1750.

³⁴Governor Trelawney to [Secretary], Jamaica, April 12, 1750, in *Journal of S. P. G.*, (L. C. Trans.) Vol. XI, July 20, 1750. See also in *ibid*, Henry Jones to [Secretary], Kingston, March 29, 1750, stressing the need of a younger man to endure the hardships of the Mosquito mission.

³⁵Joshua Peat to [Secretary], St. Thomas', Jamaica, March 26, 1750, in *ibid*.

³⁶Although Christian Frederick Post arrived on the Shore in 1765, he was not regularly appointed to the post until 1768. See *Journal of S. P. G.*, (L. C. Trans.) Vol. XVII, July 15, 1768.

³⁷For Post's career on the Anglo-French colonial frontier, see Albert T. Volkweil, *George Croghan and the Westward Movement, 1741-1782*, (Cleveland: 1926), pps. 111, 137, 139-141. Also, Anthony Benezet, *Some Account of the behavior and sentiments of well disposed Indians, mostly of the Mimusung Tribe*, (Manuscript: 1761). The Introduction gives an account of Post "as a plain, honest, religiously disposed man, who, from a conscientious Opinion and Duty, formerly went to live among the Mohickson [Mohegan] Indians in order to convert them to Christianity." He married twice among them and lived with them 17 years. (Huntington Library).

he finds them willing to embrace the Gospel and to be instructed. They have hired a schoolmaster to teach their children, who takes great pains with them and reads the English service every Sunday . . . He asks the Society to send a minister to the Moskito Shore, there being none there but himself. He asks for some books for the Indians and intimates the need of a gratuity for himself.³⁸

The Society agreed to give him £20 for his services, and to send him 25 small Common Prayers and 6 of Bishop Wilson's, *The Indian Instructed*, and also to send a missionary there when a proper person could be found.³⁹

One of the most colorful men who ever served the S. P. G., Post was to remain with the Mosquito Indians until shortly before his death in 1785. Remarkably resourceful, the unique flavor of the man is reflected in all of his correspondence with the Society. In November, 1767, he went to Philadelphia to solicit supplies for building a church on the Mosquito Shore, but money was so scarce it was doubtful "if he shall get enough to build even a tabernacle of boards. A neat one of this sort might be built for £100 or £150 with a good log house for Mr. Post to live in."⁴⁰ During this visit to Philadelphia, the Society received a letter from Richard Peters, rector of Christ Church, Philadelphia, describing the peculiar ability of Mr. Post:

. . . Mr. Post has married a very good sort of woman since he came here who proposes to accompany him to his dear Indians, as he always calls them. The marriage will do a great good. It will be an example in that wild country where few marry. It will connect the males and females better together and render it more practicable for Mr. Post to converse with them. The white people are as fond of Mr. Post as the Indians. It is an amazing power that he has got of speaking to people who are not under the impressions of religion. No one can conceive with what simplicity and authority he delivers himself to this sort of people. They hear severe things—but they are all reconciled by their being said with the plainness of a child and the love of a Father. I do heartily recommend Mr. Post to the Society.⁴¹

At about the same time that Post was appointed as catechist, Robert Hodgson, superintendent and commander-in-chief of the Mos-

³⁸*Christian Frederick Post to [Secretary], April 10, 1765, in Journal of S. P. G. (L. C. Trans.), Vol. XVI, September 20, 1765.*

³⁹*Ibid.*

⁴⁰*Richard Peters to [Secretary], Philadelphia, November 9, 1767, in Journal of S. P. G., (L. C. Trans.), Vol. XVII, January 15, 1768.*

⁴¹*Richard Peters to Daniel Burton, Philadelphia, Nov. 9, 1767, in S. P. G. MSS., (L. C. Trans.) B 21, No. 130.*

quito Shore, requested a missionary for the 12,000 Indians there, pointing out that the "moral part of their character presents an excellent foundation for Christianity," and reminding the Society that, "About 15 months ago their chief was in England, who then very ardently solicited to be christened and to have all his nation likewise and went away assured that a cleryman should be sent to his country."⁴² Hodgson recommended Thomas Warren, "a gentleman of extensive learning, great goodness of heart and firmness of mind who is willing to enter upon this arduous undertaking," and the Society accepted him, granting a salary of £70 a year.⁴³

Warren, on his arrival at the Shore, found his mission to consist of "about 50 whites, various mixtures and about 600 negroes," neither a house for public worship nor one of any sort for himself. Further, the only schoolmaster had been teaching the white children "but only superficially," so he could not recommend him to the Society. As to Mr. Post, Warren reported that he seemed to be "a pious well meaning man, but not a suitable one to instruct the white inhabitants, as they [look] upon him as an enthusiast, his elocution is poor and his knowledge of English weak."⁴⁴ However, Warren believed that Post should remain as an itinerant missionary at Mustee Creek, and asked that the Society grant him £20 more.

During the year 1769, Mr. Warren made a tour of inspection, visiting every British settlement except one, and baptizing "21 mestizes from 2 months to 40 years old. Admiral Israel, a Mosquito Indian chief embraced the Christian faith in December last with 9 other men, 10 women, 9 male and 10 female children,"⁴⁵ but the missionary cautiously advised that it would take some time to introduce regularity in the matter of marriage. A year later, he had concluded that "it would be more useful, instead of an addition to Mr. Post's salary . . . to allow a yearly sum for Indian schoolmasters. He would suggest three, to be settled at the 3 principal Indian settlements, with a salary equal to £28:11:5 sterling each, half to be paid by the Society and half by the government."⁴⁶ Post, in the meantime, was building a canoe for a visit to

⁴²Robert Hodgson, Esq., to [Secretary], Pall Mall, April 23, 1768, in *Journal of S. P. G.*, (L. C. Trans.), Vol. XVII, May 20, 1768.

⁴³*Ibid.*

⁴⁴Thomas Warren to [Secretary], Black River, May 28, 1769, and July 17, 1769, in *Journal of S. P. G.*, (L. C. Trans.) Vol. XVIII, October 20, 1769. Post, a colonial, not of British stock, an ascetic and missionary, perhaps was not quickly appraised by Warren. Obviously men of quite different tradition and experience, the support by the S. P. G. of both indicates the elasticity of the Society's program, and its ability to utilize men of varying talents.

⁴⁵Thomas Warren to [Secretary], Punta Gorda, January 21, 1770, in *Journal of S. P. G.*, (L. C. Trans.), Vol. XVIII, October 19, 1770.

⁴⁶Thomas Warren to [Secretary], Black River, December 10, 1770, in *Journal of S. P. G.*, (L. C. Trans.), Vol. XIX, July 19, 1771.

the various Mosquito towns, although he did not know how he could bear the expense of the trip.⁴⁷

Mr. Warren, on the other hand, regretted that "neither his situation, prospects or constitution will allow him to think of living among the Indian tribes,"⁴⁸ and not long thereafter reported that the governor had presented him with the rectory of Hanover.⁴⁹ Nevertheless he made one more extensive tour before he took over his new duties, baptizing, at Black River, three white and two mulatto children, one adult Negro, one Negro child; at Cape Gracias à Dios, two mulatto children, at Sandy Bay, four adult and six infant Mestizos, three sons of the king, seven children of Mosquito headmen, two mulatto children, and one Indian woman of a tribe called Rama. The Mosquito king who, with his queen, had been baptized, was a fellow-passenger on Warren's return to Jamaica, and commented, "Now I am Christian, King of England must send me Parson for live among my people."⁵⁰

The indefatigable Christian Post, left alone on the Shore, wrote cheerfully that, on the whole, his mission was successful. He had married eleven couples since his arrival, "marriage which was formerly held in contempt is now become honorable," and he had christened nine mulatto girls, three boys, and one Negro woman, age 32. Nevertheless, as he dryly reminded the Society, his expenses exceeded his income because he could not help being charitable and hospitable to visitors who came to his house for "godly conversations."⁵¹

In September, 1774, the Rev. Mr. Shaw, Warren's successor, arrived at the Shore but two weeks after his landing was "seized with a violent fever."⁵² Two letters, recorded in the Society's Journal, tell the brief story of Shaw's mission:

⁴⁷Thoman Warren to [Secretary], Black River, December 10, 1770, in *Journal of S. P. G.* (L. C. Trans.), Vol. XIX, July 19, 1771.

⁴⁸*Ibid.*

⁴⁹Thomas Warren to [Secretary], Spanish Town, Jamaica, June 3, [1771], in *Journal of S. P. G.*, (L. C. Trans.), Vol. XIX, October 18, 1771.

⁵⁰Two letters from Thomas Warren to [Secretary], one dated Cape Gracias à Dios, November 7, 1771; the other, Jamaica, December 4, 1771, in *Journal of S. P. G.*, (L. C. Trans.), Vol. XIX, March 20, 1772. In a later letter from Jamaica, in October, 1774, Warren extolled the virtues of the Mosquito Shore mission, commenting on the country in general, climate, air, and "opportunities for intellectual development and material gain compatible with the duty of being a missionary . . . he would have remained 10 years longer if he had not been given an establishment for life of a very superior sort in Jamaica." See Thomas Warren to [Secretary], Jamaica, October 26, 1774, and January 23, 1775, in *Journal of S. P. G.*, (L. C. Trans.) Vol. XX, July 21, 1775.

⁵¹Christian F. Post, to [Secretary], Mosquito Shore, [no date], in *Journal of S. P. G.*, (L. C. Trans.) Vol. XIX, February 19, 1773.

⁵²The Rev. Mr. Shaw to [Secretary], Mosquito Shore, November 6, 1774, in *Journal of S. P. G.*, (L. C. Trans.), Vol. XX, March 17, 1775. Mr. Post also wrote regarding Mr. Shaw's arrival, expressing his joy at the good effects which were to be hoped from his appointment. See C. F. Post to [Secretary], November 6, 1774, in *Journal of S. P. G.*, (L. C. Trans.) Vol. XX, February 17, 1775.

. . . he has opened a school, teaches 6 hours a day, all the poor children gratis. He has also invited the masters of slaves to send the slave children to him for free instruction but as yet he has had only 9 or 10 of these. His continuing ill health hinders him in his work and makes it necessary to spend most of his salary on doctors.

He adds that the negroes and mulattos are very apt to learn and tho he has taught them for but 4 months, some can read in the New Testament and others can spell words of 4 or 5 syllables and can repeat the Lord's Prayer, Creed, and most of the catechism.

The Society agreed to permit him to leave his mission because of his health.⁵³

However, before his departure to accept a charge in the Honduras, he christened twenty-eight candidates who had been instructed by Mr. Post.⁵⁴

William Stanford, who succeeded Mr. Shaw, arriving July, 1776,⁵⁵ was overwhelmed and discouraged from the start. He reported that he had had a fever for five weeks; that he did not like the new superintendent of the Shore; that the city of Mexico was partially destroyed by an earthquake and the shocks on the Shore promised some disaster from the elements; told of a Negro uprising which he feared would result in a massacre; and his whole duty, from July, 1776, to February, 1777, had been to baptize fifty Negroes and bury one white man.⁵⁶ When the Society refused his request for a transfer, he nevertheless left in a few months for Jamaica,⁵⁷ where the governor granted him a small living.⁵⁸ Due to the Spanish depredations, he expressed the opinion that, until the coast was protected as an English colony, a clergyman could not be maintained among the Indians.

Christian Post, once again alone on the Shore, gave an account, in August, 1777, of his own oration at the crowning of the new Mosquito king; and at the same time reported that he had been robbed by his own Negroes, or £100 worth of linen goods.⁵⁹ The aging Post, whose staunch spirit had withstood the rigors of the Shore for so many

⁵³Two letters from the Rev. Mr. Shaw to [Secretary], dated May 12, 1775, and July 13, 1775, in *Journal of S. P. G.*, (L. C. Trans.), Vol. XX, November 17, 1775.

⁵⁴Christian F. Post to [Secretary], Mosquito Shore, July 13, 1775, in *Journal of S. P. G.*, (L. C. Trans.), Vol. XX, November 17, 1775.

⁵⁵*Journal of S. P. G.*, (L. C. Trans.), Vol. XX, December 15, 1775.

⁵⁶William Stanford to [Secretary], Black River, October 6, 1776, in *Journal of S. P. G.*, (L. C. Trans.), Vol. XXI, February 21, 1777.

⁵⁷During his entire stay on the Shore, Stanford baptized and instructed 120 Indians and Negroes, but had not baptized nor married a white.

⁵⁸William Stanford, to [Secretary], Black River, October 24, 1777, in *Journal of S. P. G.*, (L. C. Trans.), Vol. XXI, February 20, 1778.

⁵⁹Christian F. Post to [Secretary], Mustee Creek, Black River, August 7, 1777, in *Journal of S. P. G.*, (L. C. Trans.), Vol. XXI, November 21, 1777.

years, in September, 1783, transmitted to the S. P. G. a pitiful account of his illness, his wife's devotion to him, and his efforts to spread religion; but said he was too sick any longer to resist the profane, the scoffers, and the mockers. He mentioned being routed by the Spaniards, and losing all his possessions, and finally said, "I think its a thousand pities, that we should find no comfort or relief or rest, for our weary bones, in these the latter part of our days which I lay to you to think thereof."⁶⁰ Again in December, 1784, he told of hardships, and the fear of the Spanish, which had at last forced him to write the governor of Jamaica asking him that he and his family be removed to safety, and adding:

. . . God forbid that I should at this time of Life fall into the hands of such cruel Enemys as the Spaniards are which inhabit the interior parts of this Country, to be drag'd through the wild and desolate mountains into Captivity from whence I am sure I never should return.⁶¹

In February of the next year, James Lowrie, the superintendent and commander-in-chief on the Shore, granted Mr. Post a leave of six months⁶² for his health. He lived long enough to return to Germantown, Pennsylvania, where, on April 29, 1785, his death occurred, and he was buried there on May 1st.⁶³ The plight of his widow, Mary M. Post, showed the severe hardships undergone by the wives of missionaries. She related her recent experiences in simple but graphic terms:

. . . I am now in a situation rather to be imagined than described, deprived of my only friend in the world, and left to Sorrow and Despair. We had once a sufficiency to Support us in a Comfortable manner, but the Devastation that has attended the Shore since the Commencement of Hostilities with Spain has almost reduced us to beggary . . . Want drove us from our Comfortable Habitations . . . Twenty months we were obliged to remain in the Woods amongst the Indians before we

⁶⁰In spite of these difficulties, Mr. Post had, since his last report, christened at Rattan, 4 whites and 2 mulattos; at Mustee Creek, 3 whites, 4 mulattos, 7 mustees, "4 sambos & a mollar woman;" and at Cape Gracias à Dios, 3 Negroes and 2 Mosquito Indians. See *Christian Frederick Post to [Secretary]*, in S. P. G. MSS., *West Indies, Honduras*.

⁶¹*Christian F. Post to [Secretary]*, *Black River, Mosquito Shore, December 15, 1784*, in S. P. G. MSS., (L. C. Trans.), *West Indies, Honduras*. Mr. Post also reported that from 1783 he had "christened 22 whites, mustees, Sambos, mulattos, Indians & negroes. Buried 24, married one couple only.

⁶²J. Lawrie in letter of Mrs. Post to William Morice, Philadelphia, Pa., October 17, 1785, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B 6, No. 288.

⁶³Certificate of burial made by William White, rector of Christ-Church and St. Peters, (afterward Bishop White), in S. P. G. MSS., (L. C. Trans.), B 6, No. 288, dated Philadelphia, October 21, 1785.

could return and when returned to Black River all our Cattle was killed and our Habitation was destroyed by the Spaniards.⁶⁴ . . .

After the death of the venerable Post, the Mosquito mission was not maintained by the S. P. G., although sporadic interest was manifested in the Shore at long intervals.⁶⁵ The four missionaries, Prince, Shaw, Stanford, and Warren, and the catechist, Christian Frederick Post, were martyrs to the conditions of life in the tropics, before these regions were made safer for the white man by the microbe hunters.

This eighteenth century activity of the Society, extending over almost fifty years (1742-1785), illuminates British interest and stamina in religious and humanitarian work, almost comparable with their well known genius in trade and business. Missionary enterprise, in short, like the British empire itself, was built upon an experimental plan, pushing its success where the initial effort was promising, withdrawing here and there where energy would be ill-spent, or where the rivalry of other religious forces indicated temporary or permanent retirement. In the political field, in 1763, French Canada was preferred as against the West Indian island of Guadalupe, which was restored to France. Cape Colony, at the end of the Napoleonic wars, was retained with its Boer population, but Java, with its fabulous wealth, was returned to Holland.

The history of the S. P. G. and other religious enterprises must be studied not only in the light of success and permanent achievement in one quarter, but of comparative failure at another time and place. Both stories belong to history and must be told. And, although this heroic missionary program seemed to have failed, yet, at the very time of Post's death, Thomas Clarkson and William Wilberforce began the campaign in Great Britain which was designed to abolish the slave trade

⁶⁴Mary Post to William Morice, Philadelphia, Pa., October 17, 1787, in S. P. G. MSS., (L. C. Trans.), B 6, No. 287.

⁶⁵In the course of the next century, in 1840, the Chaplain of Belize, the Rev. Mr. Newport, applied to the Society on behalf of the Mosquito king asking assistance in establishing schools and missions on the coast. The Society was unable, without government support, to reopen the mission. See C. F. Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the S. P. G.*, I, p. 237. The bishop of Jamaica, in November, 1848, reported that he had recently confirmed the king of the Mosquitoes, whose Christianization he believed would lead to the gradual conversion of his Indian subjects. The bishop suggested that the Society start a mission at Blewfields, the capital of the Mosquitoes. See letter from the bishop of Jamaica to S. P. G., November 20, 1848, in Report of S. P. G. for 1848, p. lxxvii. C. F. Pascoe concludes his account of the mission to the Mosquitoes as follows, "In course of time a large portion of the Mosquito territory became absorbed in the Republic of Nicaragua. To this State the episcopal jurisdiction of the Bishop of Honduras was extended in 1894. In 1896, Bishop Ormsby, who is supported by the Society, laid the foundation stone of a church at Blewfields . . . and consecrated the building . . . on April 24, 1898 . . . Blewfields . . . had then become an important place with many English people." See *op. cit.* p. 237.

and to humanize the West Indian plantation system by bringing the Indian and the Negro within the pale of human rights.

More narrowly, these documents of the Society reveal a large amount of intercolonial co-operation and exchange of ideas and personnel along other than commercial lines. The northern continental colonies, the western frontier at the forks of the Ohio, the Pennsylvania German settlers near Philadelphia, the men of Jamaica and even at Codrington college, as well as leaders in Great Britain, were brought into the story.

The interrelation of the continental colonies with the West Indies, bound together by common trade interests and the voyages of Yankee sea captains, is vividly portrayed in the fact that, when Spain threatened this world, Israel Putnam, with colonial troops from New England, assisted the British in the capture of Havana in 1762.⁶⁶ In the same way, these religious representatives in the Caribbean, by their migrations, and their consultation with the men of the farm colonies, show an impressive degree of eighteenth century humanitarian cooperation, and give an early hint of the beginnings of Pan-Americanism in the American Mediterranean, which may, in time, completely supersede European intervention. But in the meantime, for decades to come, British finance, commerce, and influence, if not always predominant, were powerful, as the long story of Anglo-American nineteenth century diplomacy in the Central American region abundantly proves.

⁶⁶Israel Putnam went with 1,000 Connecticut Yankees to participate in the siege of Havana, and helped storm the fortress. Richard Montgomery, born in Ireland, graduate of Trinity college, Dublin, who came to Canada with the British troops, in 1757, and later identified himself with the colonies, and married a daughter of Robert R. Livingston, was also in the siege, and at the capture of Martinique. He captured Montreal in 1775, and was killed in the assault on Quebec, December 31, 1775.

THE SCOTTISH EPISCOPAL SUCCESSION AND THE VALIDITY OF BISHOP SEABURY'S ORDERS

By Walter Herbert Stowe

WHEN Bishop Seabury returned to America, June 20, 1785, following his consecration by the bishops of the Scottish Episcopal Church on November 14, 1784, he found the validity of his orders challenged in certain quarters outside of New England. In the New York diocesan convention of June 13-14, 1786, the last of its acts, reflecting the animosity of Dr. Samuel Provoost to Seabury, was a resolution of instructions to the New York deputies to the General Convention of 1786:¹

Resolved, That the persons appointed to represent this Church be instructed not to consent to any act that may imply the validity of Dr. Seabury's ordinations.

Certain radicals of the General Convention of 1786, who professed to doubt the validity of Seabury's orders, would have closed the door to his reception entirely, and would have made any union with the Church in Connecticut impossible. It was moved by Dr. Provoost and seconded by the Rev. Robert Smith of South Carolina,

"That this Convention will resolve to do no act that shall imply the validity of ordinations made by Dr. Seabury."²

Drs. William Smith and William White prevented the adoption of such a disastrous measure by moving the previous question; but they and the other conservative members allowed two resolutions to pass which needlessly offended Seabury by casting aspersions upon his episcopate. The first of these, moved by Dr. White and seconded by Robert Smith of South Carolina,³

Resolved unanimously,—That it be recommended to this Church in the States here represented, not to receive to the

¹*Journals of the Convention of the P. E. Church in the Diocese of New York, 1785-1819 (Reprints, 1844), p. 9; also, Historical Magazine, VIII. (1939), p. 250.*

²*Gen. Conv. Journals, 1785-1821 (Perry's Reprints), I., p. 37*

³*Ibid., I., 37.*

pastoral charge, within their respective limits, Clergymen professing canonical subjection to any Bishop, in any State or country, other than those Bishops who may be duly settled in the States represented in this Convention.

The next day, upon motion of Smith of South Carolina, it was unanimously⁴

Resolved,—That it be recommended to the Conventions of the Church, represented in this General Convention, not to admit any person as a Minister within their respective limits, who shall receive ordination from any Bishop residing in America, during the application now pending to the English Bishops for Episcopal consecration.

Finding his orders thus challenged, and that Dr. Provoost, even after his return from England, “seems so elated with the honor of an English consecration that he affects to doubt the validity of mine,” Seabury wrote the following letter under date of November 7, 1788, to William Abernethy Drummond, bishop of Edinburgh, asking his help, since this challenge “may oblige me to establish the Scotch succession from the restoration of King Charles II to what is called the Revolution [of 1688] . . .”⁵

LETTER OF BISHOP SEABURY TO THE BISHOP OF EDINBURGH

New London, Ct., Nov. 7th, 1788.

Right Reverend and very dear Brother and Friend:

It is so long since you have heard from me that I apprehend you and my good friends in Scotland will think their memory escaped from my mind. Their memory is, however, dear to me, and the recollection of their attention to me always fills my heart with pleasure.

Your letter which informed me of your consecration to the See of Edinburgh gave me great joy. I heartily bless my God and Lord for that event, and I beseech Him to enable you to do all that is good to His Church which your heart I know anxiously wishes to do. Accept my thanks for your kind expressions and intentions toward me. God, I hope, will assist me to become in some degree worthy of the regard you express for me.

The public papers have informed us of the compliance of the Epis-

⁴*Gen. Conv. Journals, 1785-1821 (Perry's Reprints), I., 38.*

⁵*The original of this letter was placed in the hands of the Rev. Jesse Elliott Heald of Saybrook, Connecticut, (ord. deacon June 12, 1860, by Bishop John Williams of Conn.), while in Edinburgh in the summer of 1877, by the Rev. Dr. Donelan. It was published in "The Churchman" August 10, 1878. This letter should be read in connection with other letters of Bishop Seabury, of Bishop Skinner, and of Jonathan Boucher, in Hist. Mag., III., 250-61.*

copal clergy in Scotland with the legal requisition of praying for the reigning king, etc. I know them so well that I am sure they will never sacrifice conscience to conveniency; and I cannot but rejoice in the event, which, as it will free them, I hope, effectually from great embarrassment, so it will, I trust, open the door to great accessions to the Church of our dear Redeemer, miserably torn by divisions and defiled by polluted and unauthorized worship and sacraments. Come that day, gracious God, when all who worship Thee shall do it in the unity of Thy Church, in the bond of peace, and in righteousness of life!

Our state in this country is still unsettled, and like I fear to continue so. Bishop White, of Philadelphia, seems disposed to an ecclesiastical union, but will take no leading or active part to bring it about. He will risk nothing; and Bishop Provoost seems so elated with the honor of an English consecration that he affects to doubt the validity of mine. This may oblige me to establish the Scotch succession from the restoration of King Charles II to what is called the Revolution; and I beg you to enable me to do so. How this may best be done you can judge better than I can. I should suppose a certificate from the bishops in Scotland would be sufficient, naming those who were consecrated in England under King Charles the Second and their successors till Episcopal government was abolished by William the Dutchman. Bishop Collier^e ("Eccl. Hist.," v. 2, lib. ix., p. 887) says about this time—September 6, 1661—Mr. James Sharp, Mr. Hamilton, Mr. Barwell, and Mr. Loughtton, were consecrated bishops (*i. e.*, for Scotland) by the Bishop of Winchester, with the assistance of two other English prelates. Now, who were their successors till the establishment of Presbyterianism? To ascertain this point is all I want.

Another objection Bishop P———t makes against me is that I was an enemy to my country, *i. e.*, I did not disregard my oaths and run headlong into the late rebellion, now glorious revolution. This may answer for itself. I broke no oaths, nor did I trample on sacred obligations. God be praised for His grace.

We have some talk here of getting an edition of the Prayer Book printed, with the canons and rubrics accommodated to our state. The book would scarcely be so large as the present. We wish to know what a common edition of about 5,000 could be done for at Edinburgh. I have also an idea of publishing two volumes of sermons calculated for this meridian as soon as I can get a little more leisure, the volumes

^eJeremy Collier (Sept. 23, 1650-April 26, 1726), English nonjuring bishop. See below in this article for details of his consecration. Collier was a brilliant controversialist, a prolific writer, an able historian, and a distinguished liturgiologist. The nonjuring liturgy of 1718, principally Collier's work, has had a pronounced influence on both the Scottish and American Prayer Books. He had a share in an attempt at union with the Eastern Orthodox Church.

to contain about 400 pages each. What would be the Edinburgh terms if I took 300 copies; what if the whole edition? You see with how little ceremony I lay burdens on you; your goodness, I trust, will excuse me. I wish to get this Church into better order before I die, and to leave something behind me to keep it so when I am gone.

I send you twelve copies of a charity sermon preached in Boston. Please to send one to the Rt. Rev. Bishop Kilgour, with my dutiful regards, to Bishop Skinner, Bishop McFarlane, the Rev. Mr. John, Dr. Webster, and the Rev. Mr. Jolly, of Bishop Skinner's diocese, I believe. These gentlemen have all my hearty love and estimation. I send also two copies of a letter of one of my presbyters on the old subject of Episcopacy—a battle which we have to fight over again in this country. We are therefore about trying whether our poverty will permit us to establish a clerical library here, to consist of the fathers of the primitive Church, the controversial writers with the dissenters and papists, and the standard authors of the Church of England, especially of the last century. I wish you to send one of these letters to Bishop Skinner.

We have now sixteen presbyters in this diocese, and four deacons who will soon be put into priests' orders. Four more, *i. e.*, twenty four in the whole, will be as many as the present ability of the Church can support. It does however grow, and converts from Presbyterianism are not unfrequent.

We are also endeavoring to establish an academy for the education of our own clergy, etc.; and perhaps if we can raise £1,400 or £1,500 sterling by subscription in the course of the Winter, of which we have good hopes, to put it a-going in the course of the next Summer, and flatter ourselves that, by making it a general school for fitting young gentlemen for the various occupations of life, it will support itself.

My regards attend on your lady. Remember me to the Mr. Adamses and families, Dr. Webster, and all who are kind enough to think about me.

When you do me the favor to write me, could you do so by the way of Glasgow to Boston, directed to the care of the Rev. Mr. Samuel Parker, it will come safely and without expense to me. Mr. Bowden is now publishing "Remarks on Dr. Channing's (late of Boston) (distorted) View of Episcopacy". If I knew how to get such little matters to you readily it would be a means of letting you know how we go on. Pray for me, my dear brother, and believe me to be your ever affectionate, humble servant,

Samuel Connect.

Under date of June 3, 1789, from London, Bishops John Skinner, William Abernethy Drummond and John Straechan, then in London "on business of importance" to the Scottish Church (probably concerning the repeal of the penal laws against the Scottish clergy and laity), sent Seabury a certified copy of an extract procured by order of Archbishop Moore from the register of Archbishop Juxon in Lambeth Palace library.⁷ This had to do with the restoration of the Scottish episcopate in the reign of Charles II, and will be discussed later.

Apparently at the time of Seabury's consecration, the Scottish bishops had given him a list of the Scottish consecrations from the Revolution of 1688 to 1784. In a letter of Bishop Skinner of Aberdeen to Bishop Petrie, March 11, 1786, he writes:⁸

"The Pamphlets [being sent by Bishop Seabury], I imagine, are the same which I see taken notice of in the Gen'l [Gentleman's] Magazine for January which gives a full Extract of the Clergy's Address to Bp. Seabury and his answer, together with a correct List of our Consecrations from the Revolution down to his own."

In another letter to Petrie, March 27, 1786, Skinner writes:⁹

"The pamphlets he mentions are not yet come to my hand; but I imagine they have got them at Edin^r as I see the very same piece advertized in this Day's paper, to be published at Edin^r the 31st of this month, & sold at C^{ds}—including, along with the other papers, the List of our Consecrations, which I hope will convince the public that there has been no chasm in our Succession, since the Revolution, as has been maliciously asserted by some of our Adversaries."

When the General Convention of 1789 convened in Philadelphia on July 28th, Bishop Seabury was not in attendance. His absence is explained by the following entry in the Journal:¹⁰

"A letter was also read from the Right Rev. Dr. Seabury, Bishop of the Church in Connecticut, to the Right Rev. Dr. White, and one from the same gentleman to the Rev. Dr. Smith.

Upon reading the said letters, it appearing that Bishop Seabury lay under some misapprehensions concerning an entry in the Minutes of a former Convention, as intending some doubt of the validity of his consecration,

⁷See below at the end of this article for this in full.

⁸*Hist. Mag.*, III., 254-55.

⁹*Hist. Mag.*, III., 255.

¹⁰*Perry's Reprints*, I., 71.

Resolved unanimously,—That it is the opinion of this Convention, that the consecration of the Right Rev. Dr. Seabury to the Episcopal office is valid.”

With this declaration backing up their invitation to Bishop Seabury to attend, the session adjourned till September 29th; which session Bishop Seabury attended, he and Bishop White making up the first House of Bishops, Bishop Provoost being absent because of illness. The first American bishop evidently submitted papers relating to the succession of the Scottish bishops and his own consecration, since they were incorporated with the Journal of 1789 as Appendix III.¹¹ They are to be found at the end of this article for the convenience of our readers.

But we do not find among the documents appended to the journal, what Bishop Seabury specifically asked for from the bishop of Edinburgh: i. e., the names of those who succeeded the bishops consecrated in England under Charles II for the Scottish episcopate “till Episcopal government was abolished by William the Dutchman.”

This is a subject not only of interest but of importance to American churchmen: first, it concerns both the validity and regularity of Bishop Seabury's orders; second, his episcopal lineage comes from the English nonjuring line as well as from the English established line, and this is realized by few; third, the English nonjuring line merged with that of the Scottish in Seabury's consecration, and only in the Scottish line did the former survive; fourth, the scholarship of both the English and Scottish nonjurors, especially notable in the field of liturgics, is directly reflected in the American Book of Common Prayer.

HISTORY OF THE SCOTTISH EPISCOPAL SUCCESSION¹²

It is not commonly known that the Scottish episcopate twice became extinct and was twice renewed from the English line. The pre-Reformation episcopate in Scotland became extinct there during what was more a revolution than a reformation. A remnant of the bishops fled to the continent, but made no attempt to continue the succession and the line came to an end in the person of James Beaton, archbishop of Glasgow, who died at the court of France, April 24, 1603.

After James VI of Scotland became James I of England (1603),

¹¹*Perry's Reprints of the Journals of the Early Conventions, Vol. I., pp. 140-144.*

¹²*The principal authorities for this section, in addition to Bishop Seabury's "List of Consecrations" (noted above and found at the end of this article) are: (1) George Grub, "An Ecclesiastical History of Scotland" (1861), 4 vols.; John P. Lawson, "History of the Scottish Episcopal Church" (1843), 2 vols.; Thomas Stephen, "History of the Church of Scotland from the Reformation to the Present Time" (1848), 4 vols.; "Dictionary of National Biography", various vols. for different biographies.*

he began the process of restoring bishops to Scotland. In 1610 George Abbot, bishop of London, Lancelot Andrewes, bishop of Ely, Richard Neale, bishop of Rochester, and Henry Parry, bishop of Worcester, consecrated John Spottiswood, archbishop of Glasgow; Andrew Lamb, bishop of Brechin; and Gavin Hamilton, bishop of Galloway; and these last three consecrated others for Scotland.

During the period of Cromwell and the Commonwealth this Scottish line also came to an end except for the one aged bishop of Orkney, Thomas Sydserf, who died in 1663. Under Charles II the process of 1610 was repeated. In Westminster Abbey, December 15, 1661, Gilbert Sheldon, bishop of London, George Morley, bishop of Worcester, Richard Sterne, bishop of Carlisle, and Hugh Lloyd, bishop of Llandaff, consecrated James Sharp, archbishop of St. Andrew's; Andrew Fairfoul, archbishop of Glasgow; Robert Leighton, bishop of Dunblane; and James Hamilton, bishop of Galloway. It is to be noted that Sharp and Leighton, Presbyterian ministers not episcopally ordained, were first ordained deacons and priests before their elevation to the episcopate; the other two—Fairfoul and Hamilton—had been ordained by Scottish bishops of the old succession.

On May 7, 1662, Sharp, Fairfoul and Hamilton consecrated six additional bishops; and on June 1st of that year, three more; these, with Bishop Sydserf of Orkney, filled the fourteen Scottish sees. Up to the deprivation of the Scottish bishops following the revolution of 1688, thirty-eight bishops were consecrated for Scotland. Of these we are particularly interested in three only, for they continued the succession by valid and regular consecrations, thus saving the Scottish line from again becoming extinct.

John Paterson (1632-Dec. 9, 1708) was consecrated bishop of Galloway in May 1675 at Edinburgh by Archbishop Robert Leighton of Glasgow (who had been translated there in 1671 from Dunblane), Bishop Alexander Young of Edinburgh, and by another bishop whose name is not given. On March 29, 1679, Paterson was translated to Edinburgh and on January 21, 1687, became the last archbishop of Glasgow.

Robert Douglas (1625-Sept. 22, 1716) was consecrated bishop of Brechin in 1682, probably by Archbishop Burnet, but no record of his consecrators has survived. In 1684 he was translated to Dunblane.

Alexander Rose (c. 1647-March 20, 1720), also known as Ross, was consecrated bishop of Moray, March 8, 1687, on nomination of the king. In that same year he was translated to Edinburgh. No record of his consecrators has survived, but probably his uncle, Arthur Ross, archbishop of St. Andrew's and primate, officiated.

Following the revolution of 1688 and the accession of William and

Mary, the blow fell. Before the revolution the bishops and other clergy had taken a solemn oath:

"I do promise to be true and faithful to the king and *his heirs*, and truth and faith to bear, of life and limb and terrene honour, and *not to know or hear of any ill or damage intended him*, without defending him therefrom."

The clergy were called upon to renounce this oath to King James II and to swear allegiance to the new monarch. On grounds of conscience all of the fourteen bishops and the greater part of 900 priests and deacons refused. The Presbyterian ministers were willing to do so; on July 22, 1689, episcopacy was abolished and on June 7, 1690, presbyterianism was established. Wholesale deprivation of jurisdiction and livings followed and incalculable suffering resulted.

When the primate, Archbishop Ross of St. Andrew's, died on June 13, 1704, only five of the fourteen bishops were left. William Hay (d. 1707) was paralysed. George Haliburton (1628-1715), bishop of Aberdeen, was living in complete seclusion. The three remaining—Paterson, Rose, and Douglas—resolved upon continuing the episcopal order by consecrating two clergymen selected by themselves and without conveyance of jurisdiction or assignment of dioceses.

On January 25, 1705, *John Sage* (1652-June 7, 1711) and *John Fullarton* (d. 1727) were consecrated with great privacy by Archbishop Paterson and Bishops Rose and Douglas in the oratory in Paterson's house in Edinburgh.

On Paterson's death (1708), Rose had precedence of the remaining bishops, and the death of Douglas (1716) left him the sole prelate with right of jurisdiction. Rose's leadership was notable on several counts: one, he maintained the episcopal succession in Scotland; two, he restored the rite of confirmation which had been practically disused in Scotland since the Reformation; three, by his studious moderation he preserved the unity of his Church during his lifetime; four, he had strong sympathies with the English nonjurors and promoted the consecration of *James Gadderar* in 1713 in London by George Hickes, English nonjuring bishop, assisted by two Scottish bishops—Falconar and Campbell—who had been consecrated by Rose. This is of special interest to Americans because Seabury's episcopal orders are involved with the English nonjuring line through Gadderar's consecration, and will be discussed more fully below.

After the death of Archbishop Paterson, to maintain safely the succession, Bishop Rose, assisted by Bishops Douglas and Sage, consecrated *John Falconar* (d. 1723) and *Henry Christie* (d. 1718) on April 28, 1709, in Douglas' house at Dundee.

Again, following the death of Bishop Sage in 1711, *Archibald Campbell* (d. 1744) was consecrated at Dundee, August 25, 1711, by Rose, Douglas and Falconar.

Bishop Christie having died in 1718, Gadderar and Campbell being in England, only three bishops were left in Scotland—Rose, Fullarton and Falconar. Sensing the necessity of immediately strengthening the succession while a sufficient number of bishops was readily available, Bishop Rose proceeded to engage in his last important official act. On October 22, 1718,¹³ assisted by Fullarton and Falconar, Rose consecrated *Arthur Millar* (d. Oct. 9, 1727) and *William Irvine* (d. 1725) in his chapel at Edinburgh. On March 20, 1720, Bishop Rose died at the age of 73.

A REGULAR, CANONICAL AND VALID CONSECRATION

What constitutes a regular and canonical, as well as valid, consecration of a bishop? The act of consecration itself is really performed by *one* bishop, yet, in accordance with the customs of the ancient Church, *two others* are required to be associated with him as assistants. The first apostolic canon provides that a bishop shall be ordained by two or three bishops. This was, however, simply a measure of security on the part of the Church; and hence, a consecration by a single¹⁴ bishop would be *valid*, though not regular and canonical. As one writer states it:¹⁵

"Lest, by any extraordinary casualty, some one bishop should surreptitiously intrude himself into the office, the Church has taken care that his irregularity should not descend to those at whose ordination he concurred, by requiring that no bishop should be ordained, except in case of necessity, but by three, or two at the least; that so, if it should chance that one of them was not canonically ordained, yet still there might

¹³In *Seabury's "List of Consecrations"* the date is given as 1712, which is certainly an error. Grub, Lawson and Stephen agree on the date 1718, and this latter date is in accord with the circumstances precipitated by Bishop Christie's death in that year.

¹⁴The first Roman Catholic bishop in the U. S. A., Dr. John Carroll, was consecrated the first bishop of Baltimore on August 15, 1790, in the private chapel of Lullworth Castle, Dorsetshire, England, by only one bishop. "It was thus that the Roman Catholic hierarchy of the United States was founded. The consecrator was the Rt. Rev. Dr. Charles Walmesley, titular bishop of Rama and senior vicar apostolic of the English Roman Catholics. By special direction of the papal bull authorizing the consecration, the bishop of Rama was assisted in the solemn function by two attendant priests, no regard being paid to the ancient canon requiring the presence and participation of three bishops in the elevation of a priest to the episcopate." (Wm. Stevens Perry, "The Bishops of the American Church Past and Present," New York, 1897, p. lv.)

¹⁵Wm. Staunton, "An Ecclesiastical Dictionary", New York, 1873. 4th ed., p. 210.

be two, or at least one, against whom there could lie no exceptions; and if but one of the ordainers were really a bishop, I see no reason to doubt but that the ordained was so too."

THE ENGLISH NONJURORS

In English history that part among the clergy of the Church of England who considered themselves so bound in conscience by their oath of allegiance to King James II that, after his forced abdication, they could not take the oath of allegiance to William and Mary, are called nonjurors. In spite of the fact that many of these clergy had opposed a conscientious resistance to the usurpations of James II, they nevertheless continued to preach submission to his authority on the principle of his divine right of hereditary succession to the obedience of his subjects. Accordingly, it became impossible for them with consistency to submit to a monarch crowned only by authority of parliament as William and Mary were. Efforts were made for the adoption of some plan by which they might be excused from taking the oath, but such efforts failed. In consequence, one archbishop (the primate), five bishops and about 400 other clergymen, were excluded from their sees and livings.

In addition to William Sancroft, archbishop of Canterbury, the following bishops were ejected: Thomas Ken, of Bath and Wells; Francis Turner, of Ely; Robert Frampton, of Gloucester; William Lloyd, of Norwich (not his namesake of St. Asaph); Thomas White, of Peterborough. Thomas of Worcester, Lake of Chichester, and Cartwright of Chester had also refused to swear allegiance to the new sovereigns, but they died within the year before ejection would take effect.

Denying the episcopal mission of those who occupied the place of the deprived bishops during their lifetime, the nonjurors ministered privately among those who held their opinions, ordained presbyters, and consecrated bishops. Ken and Frampton did not approve of continuing the succession, but Sancroft and the remaining three determined to do so, claiming to represent the true Church of England. They requested James II in his exile to nominate two new bishops to carry on the succession. With James' express authority, Sancroft chose George Hickes (June 20, 1642-Dec. 15, 1715), and Lloyd chose Thomas Wagstaffe (1645-1712). Meanwhile, because of ill health, Sancroft, in February 1692/93, had delegated his archiepiscopal powers to William Lloyd, deprived bishop of Norwich. Before the two nominees were consecrated, Sancroft died (November 24, 1693).

On February 24, 1693/94,¹⁶ Hickes and Wagstaffe were consecrated suffragan bishops of Thetford and Ipswich respectively. Lloyd (consecrated 1675 by Gilbert Sheldon, archbishop of Canterbury) was consecrator; assisted by Turner (consecrated 1683 by Sancroft), and White (consecrated 1685 by Sancroft).

THE MERGING OF THE ENGLISH NONJURING LINE INTO THE SCOTTISH SUCCESSION

On February 24, 1712/13, the Scotsman, *James Gadderar*, was consecrated in Hickes' oratory, Ormonde Street, London, by the English nonjuring bishop, Dr. George Hickes, assisted by the two Scottish bishops—John Falconar (consecrated 1709 by Rose, Douglas and Sage), and Archibald Campbell (consecrated 1711 by Rose, Douglas and Falconar). This step, "apparently somewhat out of the usual course, was taken not only with the consent of Bishop Rose, but even at his express desire, and was consequently approved by all his brethren in Scotland."¹⁷

Gadderar (1655-1733) is deserving of more than passing notice. He continued to live in London for the next eight or nine years, but his time was spent to good purpose in association with the distinguished scholars¹⁸ among the English nonjurors. He took part in the consecration of Collier, Hawes and Spinckes, and later of Gandy and Brett. He was enthusiastic over the negotiations (1716-1723) with Arsenius, metropolitan of Thebais, for intercommunion with the Eastern Churches. Although the efforts were unsuccessful, they served to educate Britain

¹⁶Up to 1752 the beginning of the civil year was March 25th. Before 1752 the chronology is called "Old Style"; after 1752, "New Style". For the convenience of the reader, the above designation (1693/94), and similar ones throughout this article, means that the year was 1693 (O. S.), 1694 (N. S.).

¹⁷Bp. Russell's edition of Keith's Catalogue, p. 531.

¹⁸Professor J. E. B. Mayor (1825-1910), English classical scholar, in the "Life of Ambrose Bonwicke", calls on the censors of the nonjurors "to name any English sect so eminent, in proportion to its numbers, alike for solid learning and for public as well as private virtues".

Henry Broxap, author of "The Later Non-Jurors" (1924), states in his "Biography of Thomas Deacon" (p. 148):

"Speaking from a strictly historical point of view, it is a simple matter of fact that the revival of church life has been on the lines of the teaching and practice of the Non-Jurors rather than in accordance with the ideals of, let us say, Bishop Peploe or Dr. Conyers Middleton."

Broxap goes on to point out that the churchmanship of the type of Peploe is quite impossible today, whereas much for which Deacon and the other nonjurors contended is a matter of course.

The influence of the English nonjurors upon Gadderar was profound and through him was immediately reflected in the reorganization of the Scottish Church along the lines of primitive episcopacy, and in the revision of the Scottish liturgy. Both of these last named movements had a direct influence through Seabury upon the American Church, especially in the latter's successful resistance to lay domination of the Church and in the adoption of the first American Book of Common Prayer.

concerning the Eastern Orthodox Church. Gadderar was also a supporter of Prayer Book revision as undertaken by the nonjurors and of the "usages."¹⁹ In 1721 he returned to Scotland as Campbell's vicar in Aberdeen. This precipitated a struggle with the "college" bishops who were largely under the control of lay popes—the trustees of James II's son. Great bitterness existed against Gadderar because he was in favor of the "usages" and the restoration of diocesan episcopacy. Supported largely by the presbyters and some of the bishops, Gadderar stood his ground. Campbell yielded Aberdeen to him, the college bishops finally confirmed him as bishop of Aberdeen, 1724-25, and the clergy of Moray elected him to that see also. Gadderar's leadership is to be credited with two signal victories of importance to the American Church as well as to the Church at large: (1) The restoration of the liturgy of the Scottish Episcopal Church as distinctively different from that of the Church of England; (2) the restoration of diocesan, as distinguished from "college" episcopacy, whereby the control of the church by king or state was broken. The idea of "a free church in a free state" was first worked out in Scotland by the Episcopal Church, to be repeated on a vastly greater scale in the United States of America. Gadderar administered his diocese with great vigor and acceptance. The Episcopalians were numerous and influential; the Presbyterians became alarmed at the growth of the Church; and if the severe persecutions following upon the uprising of 1745 had not curtailed the spiritual successes achieved under Gadderar's leadership, the history of the Scottish Episcopal Church would have been in later years far more brilliant. Although Gadderar died in 1733, up to the beginning of the 19th century his name was a household word among the Episcopalian peasants of Aberdeenshire.

It was only in the Scottish episcopate that the English nonjuring line was destined to survive; and it was from that line, through Hicke and the Scottish bishops, that Dr. Seabury received his episcopal authority. The subsequent succession, briefly summarized, was as follows:

Dr. Thomas Rattray (1684-May 12, 1743), the foremost liturgiologist of Scotland, was consecrated bishop of Dunkeld in Edinburgh, June 4, 1727, by:²⁰

¹⁹See the next section below for these.

²⁰"*Percival's Apology*," 254; "*Primitive Proof and Order, Appendix*," 21; and the "*List at the Address to Bishop Seabury*," p. 38 (furnished by Seabury's consecrators, and reprinted at the end of this article)—all state Gadderar to have been the consecrator of Rattray. Skinner's "*Ecclesiastical History*," II., 644, lists Millar as the consecrator. The writer of the MS. *Memoirs* entitled, "*Contemporary Sketch of the State of the Scottish Episcopal Church from 1715 to 1746*," who was exceedingly hostile to Gadderar, states:

"Mr. Gadderar, looking on this as a favourable juncture wherein to

(1) James Gadderar, now bishop of Aberdeen, who had been consecrated in 1713 in London by Hickes, Falconar and Campbell, as related above;

(2) Arthur Millar, now bishop of Edinburgh, who had been consecrated in 1718 by Bishops Rose, Fullarton and Falconar;

(3) Andrew Cant, who had been consecrated October 17, 1722, by Bishops Fullarton, Millar and Irvine. He had no see at this time.

Bishop Rattray became *primus* in 1738 and served as such until his death.

William Falconar (c. 1708-1784) was consecrated bishop of Orkneys and Caithness, September 10, 1741, at Alloa in Clackmannanshire, by:

(1) Bishop Rattray, *primus*, as above;

(2) Robert Keith, bishop of Fife, who had been consecrated bishop coadjutor of Edinburgh, June 18, 1727, by Gadderar, Millar, and Rattray. Keith is the author of the "History of Scotland during Queen Mary" and of "Catalogue of the Scottish Bishops."

(3) Robert White, bishop of Dunblane, who had been consecrated June 24, 1735, by Rattray, Keith, and William Dunbar.

Bishop Falconar became *primus* in 1762.

Robert Kilgour (c. 1714-March, 1790) was consecrated bishop of Aberdeen, September 21, 1768, at Cupar in Fife, by:

(1) Bishop Falconar, *primus*, as above;

(2) James Rait, who had been consecrated bishop of Brechin, October 4, 1742, by Bishops Rattray, Robert White, and Robert Keith.

(3) John Alexander, who had been consecrated bishop of Dunkeld, August 19, 1743, at Edinburgh, by Bishops Keith, White, Falconar, and Rait.

Dr. Samuel Seabury (Nov. 30, 1729-Feb. 25, 1796) was consecrated bishop of Connecticut, November 14, 1784, in Aberdeen, by:

have Mr. Rattray consecrated, which was attempted in vain before, plied Bishop Millar so close, and persuaded Mr. Cant to join in with them, that he was instantly consecrated."

This does not state that Millar was the consecrator; Gadderar needed two other bishops for a regular consecration and finally obtained them. Two other points are to be noted: (1) Gadderar was senior to both the other bishops in point of consecration; (2) Millar was so old and infirm that he had to have a coadjutor 14 days later—June 18th, 1727—and he died the following October 9th, 1727.

- (1) Bishop Robert Kilgour, *primus*, as above;
- (2) Arthur Petrie, bishop of Ross and Caithness, who had been consecrated bishop coadjutor of Moray, at Dundee, June 27, 1776, by Bishops Falconar, *primus*, Rait, Kilgour, and Charles Rose of Dunblane.
- (3) John Skinner, bishop coadjutor of Aberdeen, who had been consecrated at Luthermuir, Brechin, September 25, 1782, by Bishops Kilgour, *primus*, Rose, and Petrie.

There is a common opinion that, because Dr. Seabury's election to the episcopate by the Connecticut clergy on March 25, 1783, was secret, his consecration was, if not secret, at least witnessed by very few others than the consecrators. This is not borne out by the account in "The Minute Book"²¹ of the College of Bishops in Scotland:

" . . . and therefore, the day following being Sunday, the 14th of the said month of November, after morning prayers, and a sermon suitable to the occasion, preached by Bishop Skinner, they proceeded to the Consecration of the said Dr. Samuel Seabury, in the said Bishop Skinner's Chapel in Aberdeen, and he was then and there duly Consecrated with all becoming solemnity by the said Right Rev. Mr. Robert Kilgour, Mr. Arthur Petrie, and Mr. John Skinner, in the presence of a considerable number of respectable clergymen and a great number of laity, on which occasion all testified great satisfaction . . ."

It is thus clear beyond a shadow of doubt, from the listings given above, that Dr. Seabury's episcopal orders were not only valid, but regular and canonical in the sense that the ancient precedent of one consecrator and two co-consecrators was most meticulously followed in each and every stage of the succession.²²

If it be objected that the civil power in this or that case did not approve, the answer is threefold: first, the consent of the civil power was never admitted to be necessary in the primitive Church of the first three centuries, and to this precedent the Scottish Church, from the time of Bishop Gadderar (about 1725), and the American Episcopal Church since the Revolutionary War, have always appealed; second, in so far as Seabury's spiritual forefathers were concerned—Bishop George Hickes and those of the Scottish succession, up to the time Gadderar and his associates broke the bonds of the state—they had from their standpoint the consent of the civil power: they recognized James II and his heirs as the civil power *de jure* if not *de facto*; third,

²¹Printed in full in H. G. Batterson, "A Sketch Book of the American Episcopate" (1884), p. 25.

²²For ready reference, an epitome of Seabury's episcopal succession is appended to this article.

if the consent of the civil power is necessary to a regular, canonical and valid consecration, there is probably no regular, canonical and valid episcopate in Christendom, for the primitive Church was a proscribed Church much of the time, to which the civil power was bitterly opposed.

The Scottish bishops gave Seabury what he and the American Church needed above everything else—a free, valid, and purely ecclesiastical episcopacy.

The consequences which flowed from Seabury's orders at the hands of the Scottish bishops were momentous. (1) The uplift to American Churchmen was tremendous. The century long prayer for the episcopate had been answered. The faith of those who believed that somehow, somewhere, the episcopate "could be had", was vindicated. The anachronism of an episcopal church without a bishop had been done away. Even in New York and elsewhere outside of New England, in spite of the hostility of Provoost and other radicals, priests such as Benjamin Moore and Abraham Beach were glad.

(2) The American Church had a bishop who would and did stand resolutely in the path of lay domination of the Church—a very real danger as the history of the first General Conventions and of the Church in Virginia abundantly proves.²³ Backed by the experience of the Scottish Church, Seabury battled successfully for the rights of his own order and for the rights of the presbyters.

(3) Seabury's success with the Scottish bishops, following upon his failure with the English bishops, was a tremendous help to the American Church in obtaining bishops from the English established line. The archbishops and bishops of the Church of England were touched at a delicate point in their ecclesiastical anatomy. If they were not to lose "face" with American churchmen, they realized that they must bestir themselves more energetically than they had yet done. That Church need no longer depend upon English bishops for the episcopate. And this latter fact was a powerful weapon in the hands of the English bench over the heads of the ministry and parliament in obtaining the needed legislation. It was still to take almost two and one-half years (Feb. 4, 1787) before English episcopal hands could be laid on the heads of White and Provoost; but for Seabury it would certainly have taken longer. The American Church on its part saved precious time by securing the consent of the laity in each election to the episcopate—a condition which Seabury had not had time to fulfill and which he found to be a serious drawback.

(4) Liturgiologists such as Dr. W. K. Lowther Clarke^{23-a} contend

²³See, "The Development of the Church's Constitution," *Hist. Mag.* VIII (Sept. 1939), pp. 177-280.

^{23-a}Editor of "Liturgy and Worship," (Macmillan, 1932), p. 792.

that "the [Scottish Prayer] Book as a whole is clearly the best of the Anglican Prayer Books. . . ." It is not immodest to claim that the American Prayer Book seriously rivals the Scottish, and that is, as we know, no mere coincidence. Seabury was strongly influenced by the former and was able to make his influence effective by the addition of the Oblation and Invocation to the prayer of Consecration in the Communion office. In the lapse of less than 150 years other practices of the English and Scottish nonjurors, such as mixing water with the wine and prayers for the dead, have become matters of course among all schools of churchmanship.

(5) If the belief that a generous act will most certainly have its reward, was ever justified in the event, that of the Scottish bishops in conferring the episcopate on Dr. Seabury is a case in point. The latter's consecration made no small stir in British circles. Even hostility to it redounded to the benefit of the Scottish Church. Hundreds of the clergy of the Church of England, and even more of the laity, learned for the first time of the existence of this forgotten Church in Scotland, and the story of its endurance and perseverance in the face of severe persecution aroused sympathy and brought sorely needed help. The English bishops took an active part in securing the repeal of the penal laws against the proscribed Church, adventitiously aided in this by the death of the last of the Stuart pretenders, "Bonnie Prince Charlie". Money was forthcoming from learned men like Dr. Routh and their more wealthy friends, and the revival of the Scottish Episcopal Church, begun in the period following Seabury's consecration, has continued to our own day.

THE LATER NONJURORS AND THEIR RELATIONS WITH DR. SEABURY.

When Hickes acted as consecrator of the Scottish bishop, James Gadderar, in 1712/13, he was the only survivor of the English non-juring bishops, Wagstaffe having died October 17, 1712. Gadderar and Campbell were persuaded to assist Hickes in restoring the English non-juring line; and on June 3, 1713, the three joined in consecrating Jeremy Collier, Samuel Hawes, and Nathaniel Spinckes.

Hickes having died December 15, 1715, Collier, Spinckes and Hawes elevated Henry Gandy and Dr. Thomas Brett, of Spring Grove, to the episcopate on January 25, 1715/16.

Within two years the nonjurors were split into two factions over prayer book revision. On the ground that they were no longer connected with the Church of England as by law established, and therefore not trammelled by parliamentary enactments in the discharge of their ministerial functions, the nonjurors agreed that they were at liberty

to remedy the defects of the English Communion office of 1662 and to introduce a better one.

"The Nonjuring Office of 1718 was the work principally of Bishop Jeremy Collier and Bishop Brett, with the counsel of the Scottish Bishops Campbell and Gadderar. The lines followed by the nonjuring liturgy had been laid down in the proposed concordate between 'the Orthodox and Catholic remnant of the British Churches and the Catholic and Apostolic Oriental Church'. These liturgical scholars brought out a revision based on the Communion office in the First Prayer Book of Edward VI, enriched by a revival of primitive usages obtaining among the ancient liturgies of the east. The order of the parts of the Canon was made to conform to the Syrian liturgies, principally to that of St. James of Jerusalem. These 'usages', as they were commonly called, were divided into the four Greater Usages and the Minor Usages. The Greater Usages were: (1) the mixing of water with wine; (2) prayers for the dead; (3) the prayer for the descent of the Holy Spirit to consecrate the elements; (4) the prayer of Oblation. The Minor Usages were: (1) trine immersion in baptism; (2) the use of chrism at confirmation; (3) unction at the visitation of the sick; (4) reservation of the Eucharist for the sick."²⁴

In the factional strife which developed, Collier and Brett were on one side; Spinckes, Hawes and Gandy on the other. Each faction proceeded to increase the number of its bishops.

The last named three on January 25, 1720/21, consecrated Ralph Taylor and Hilkiak Bedford. It was Taylor, *solus*, who, some time in 1722, consecrated Robert Welton and John Talbot of Burlington, N. J. The day, month and place are not known; the other nonjuring bishops refused to recognize the act; the authority for its having taken place is Rawlinson's MS. record and Brett's MS. record.

Except for Taylor's lone act, both factions at this period were particular to maintain the regularity of their consecrations by always having three bishops participate. According to Broxap,²⁵ the original deeds of all their consecrations (except those by Taylor) are in the episcopal safe in Edinburgh. About 1732 these two factions patched up their quarrel. Since there was never any possibility of Seabury's receiving episcopal orders from the regularly consecrated successors of this

²⁴For the above paragraph I am indebted to the doctoral thesis of my colleague, the Rev. Dr. Horace E. Perret of New Brunswick, N. J., "*The Influence of the Nonjuring Office of 1718 on Later English Liturgies.*" This dissertation very much deserves to be published.

²⁵Broxap, Henry, "*The Later Non-Jurors.*" (1924), pp. 349-351. Much new and hitherto unpublished material is presented in this volume, superseding Lathbury and Overton in the field of the later nonjurors. This section is heavily indebted to Broxap.

group of nonjurors, because Gordon, the last of their line, died in 1779, the following brief summary must suffice.²⁶

<i>Date</i>	<i>Name of Bishop</i>	<i>Consecrators</i>
November 25, 1722.....	John Griffin.....	Jeremy Collier Archibald Campbell Thomas Brett
March 30, 1725.....	Henry Doughty.....	Fullarton Millar Irvine Freebairn
		} All Scottish bishops
May 6, 1725.....	John Blackburne.....	Spinckes Gandy Doughty
June 11, 1725.....	Henry Hall.....	Spinckes Gandy Doughty
April 9, 1727.....	Thomas Brett, of Sussex.....	Dr. Brett Griffin Campbell
March 25, 1728.....	Richard Rawlinson.....	Gandy Doughty Blackburne
December 26, 1728.....	George Smith.....	Gandy Blackburne Rawlinson
July 17, 1737.....	Timothy Mawman.....	Dr. Brett George Smith Brett, of Sussex
June 11, 1741.....	Robert Gordon.....	Dr. Brett Smith Mawman

Gordon, last of the line, died in 1779, four years before Seabury landed in England.

“THE ORTHODOX BRITISH CHURCH” OF PRICE AND CARTWRIGHT.

It is somewhat ironical that whereas the Scottish bishops more than once helped to maintain a regular succession among the English nonjurors, it was a Scottish bishop who initiated the irregular succession of the “Nonjurors of the Separation”, a separate nonjuring communion distinct from the Sancroftian line, who called themselves the “Orthodox British Church”, from whom Seabury might quite conceivably have received his episcopal orders if the Scottish bishops of the regular succession had refused him.

In 1733, Archibald Campbell (d. 1744), the Scottish bishop who lived most of the time in England and who had been consecrated August

²⁶For further details, see *Broxap, ibid.*

25, 1711, by Bishops Rose, Douglas and Falconar (as related above), consecrated *by himself, without any assistant, Roger Laurence* (1670-1736) and *Thomas Deacon* (Sept. 2, 1697-Feb. 16, 1753). The day, month and place are unknown; no original deeds survive; but there is ample manuscript evidence that the consecration took place; and it was known to Rawlinson, Brett and others.²⁷

On March 8, 1751/52, Thomas Deacon, *solus*, consecrated in Manchester, *Kenrick Price*, a grocer in St. Mary's Gate of that city. The statement of Lathbury²⁸ that Cartwright was consecrated by Deacon in 1780 is obviously an error since Deacon died in 1753.²⁹

It is probable that Price, *solus*, consecrated Philip Johnston Brown at Manchester, but the date is unknown. It is also probable that Brown died many years before Price.

On November 4, 1781, *William Cartwright* was consecrated by Price, *solus*, at Shrewsbury. Cartwright, a native of Newcastle, was born in 1730, and married Sarah Sophia Deacon, daughter of Dr. Thomas Deacon, the irregular bishop mentioned above. In 1769 Cartwright moved to Shrewsbury where he practiced as an apothecary.

On August 28(?) 1795, *Thomas Garnett* was consecrated by Cartwright, *solus*, at Manchester.

Price died in Liverpool on September 15, 1790, in the 69th year of his age, the 39th of his episcopate.

Cartwright died October 14, 1799, aged 69, but he conformed to the Church of England before his death.

The last of the irregular nonjurors who is supposed to have been a bishop was *Charles Booth*, possibly consecrated by Garnett at Manchester. The date is unknown and the evidence uncertain. Booth is said to have died in 1805 in Ireland.

The point of all this detail is that, but for the vision, courage and magnanimity of the Scottish bishops, Seabury's consecration "might have been" at the hands of Cartwright and Price, and this would have been disastrous to the unity and well-being of the American Church. In Bishop Seabury's Letter Book³⁰ the following letter is to be found:

²⁷Rawlinson MSS.: "Roger Laurence, M. A. consecrated by Mr. Arch. Campbell. Thomas Deacon consecrated by the same person at the same time." (Quoted by Broxap in "Biography of Thomas Deacon," Manchester University Press, 1911.)

²⁸Thomas Lathbury, "History of the Nonjurors," p. 412.

²⁹Broxap, "Biography of Thomas Deacon," *ibid.* Also, "Dict. of National Biography".

³⁰The present writer has read the letter in Bishop Seabury's Letter Book, now in the possession of his direct descendent, the Honorable Samuel Seabury, LL. D., of New York City. It is printed in Perry's "Historical Notes and Documents," (Vol. III of "Half Century of the Legislation of the American Church") pp. 232-33.

Dr. SEABURY TO THE RIGHT REV. BP. CART-WRIGHT of Shrewsbury, In answer to a letter from the Bp. to Dr. Chandler, London, October (15th?), 1784.

Right Revd. Sir,

Some time ago a letter from you to the Revd. Dr. Chandler respecting some queries proposed by the Revd. Mr. Boucher was put into my hands. This was the first information I had received concerning yourself or Bp. Price. And as I am in Spiritual matters totally independent of *any civil power* and have no manner of objection; but a sincere inclination to conform myself, as near as possible to the Primitive Catholic Church, in doctrine and discipline, that Letter would have been immediately attended to by me, had I not primarily entered into a negociation with the Bps. in the North, to obtain through them a free, valid, and purely Ecclesiastical Episcopacy for the Church in Connecticut. Till within a few days I have had no decided answer from the North, and therefore did not sooner write to you, because I could make no certain reply to your letter. But as the issue of the negociation I was engaged in is such as that I cannot in honor retreat, I can only at present return you my hearty and unfeigned thanks for the candid communication and liberal sentiments which your letter contained; and to assure you that I will ever retain the highest esteem and veneration both for yourself and Bishop Price, on account of the ready disposition which you both show to impart the great blessing of a primitive Episcopacy to the destitute Church in America. Should any circumstances render it convenient to open a further correspondence on this or any other subject in which the interest of Christ's Church may be concerned, I flatter myself with a continuance of that Spirit of liberality and Christian condescension which your letter manifested, and shall make it my study to return it in the most open and unreserved manner.

Be pleased, to present my best respects to Bishop Price, and to accept ye tender of unfeigned regard and esteem from

Right Revd. Sir,

Your most obt. and very humble Servt.

S. S.

Chandler³¹ and Boucher,³² both then in England, were warm friends

³¹*The Rev. Thomas Bradbury Chandler (April 26, 1726-June 17, 1790), D. D. (Oxon.) was a native American of dissenting background; educated at Yale; ord. 1751; served Elizabeth Town, N. J. 1751-1775; loyalist refugee in England, 1775-1785. First bishop-designate of Nova Scotia, but because of a fatal disease declined the appointment. Returned to Elizabeth Town, 1785. An outstanding leader among the American clergy.*

³²*The Rev. Jonathan Boucher (March 12, 1738—April 27, 1804) was born in England but migrated to America at age of 16; ordained March 26, 1762; served parishes in Virginia and Maryland until his ejection in 1775 because he was a loyalist. Lived in England the rest of his life as vicar of Epsom, Surrey (1784-1799); then in Carlisle. Published, 1797, "A View of the Causes and Consequences of the American Revolution," dedicated to George Washington for whom he had*

of Seabury and were doing all in their power to advance his cause. Cartwright had evidently been consulted by Boucher as to the possibility of his consecrating Seabury for the American episcopate. We are entirely in the dark as to how much Boucher knew about the history of Cartwright's orders; but from the above letter, it is quite certain that Seabury had, up to that time, known nothing: "This was the first information I had received concerning yourself or Bp. Price." He does, however, leave the door open for further negotiations with Cartwright in case the Scottish approaches failed. If the latter broke down, he would have no other choice than to accept what Cartwright had to offer or go home without episcopal orders. If Seabury had chosen the former, the results to the American Church would have been very sad. At the very best his authority would have been under a cloud on the ground that his orders were positively irregular; at the worst his authority would have been utterly repudiated on the ground that his orders were invalid. His ardent friends would have been placed on the defensive; his enemies would have wrought havoc among his allies in the Church; and what they could not accomplish by fact and argument they would have effected by ridicule. One can imagine the wags inside and outside of the Church propounding a riddle: "Where do you get episcopal orders?" Answer: "From your grocer or your druggist." The motion of Provoost in the General Convention of 1786 would most certainly have been adopted; and the union of the Church would have been much longer delayed, if not for decades entirely prevented.

Fortunately for Seabury and the American Church, he never had to face seriously this particular issue. When his efforts in England were defeated by the obtuseness of the politicians, the only other channel from which he could obtain for the Church in Connecticut a free and regular as well as valid and purely ecclesiastical episcopacy, was controlled by men of wisdom and strong spiritual perceptions who could distinguish between the erastian and ecclesiastical realities of the problem; by men with courage to do the right even in the face of possible reprisals from English quarters; by large-souled, magnanimous men, who, overlooking their selection as second choice in effecting this

a profound respect. Lexicographer of some note for the last 14 years of his life. Dr. Francis L. Hawks in his "Contributions to the Ecclesiastical History of Maryland", states:

"Mr. Boucher was no ordinary man. Possessed of a very strong mind, highly improved by cultivation, he exhibited the graces of accomplished scholarship, and clothed his thoughts in language alike vigorous and eloquent . . . The Church in America was, to the last, near his heart. Strongly attached to the best men among the clergy, he continued his correspondence with them, after political convulsions had separated him from them forever. Seabury, Chandler and White were all his friends; the two former regular correspondents." (See, W. B. Sprague, "Annals of the American Pulpit," Vol. V., 211-214.)

particular consecration, were alive to the danger of "needlessly narrowing the pale of that Church, which its blessed Founder (Glory to his name) designed for *All Nations*."³³

One rises from the study of this fascinating subject with a renewed certainty as to the regularity and canonicity, as well as to the validity, of the Scottish Episcopal Succession; but also with an intensified realization of the danger from which the three Scottish bishops—Robert Kilgour, Arthur Petrie, and above all, John Skinner—saved the American Episcopal Church, and with enhanced appreciation and gratitude for the boon which they conferred upon it.

EPITOME OF DR. SEABURY'S EPISCOPAL LINEAGE

CONSECRATOR

GILBERT SHELDON

(b. July 19, 1598—d. Nov. 9, 1677)

Consecrated Bishop of London,

October 28, 1660

Archbishop of Canterbury, 1663

Was consecrator of:

WILLIAM LLOYD³⁴

(b. 1637—d. Jan. 1, 1709/10)

Consecrated Bishop of Llandaff:

April 6, 1675

Translated to Peterborough,

April 10, 1679

Translated to Norwich,

June 11, 1685

Deprived: Feb. 1, 1690/91

Was consecrator of:

GEORGE HICKES

(b. June 20, 1642—d. Dec. 15, 1715)

Consecrated Feb. 24, 1693/94

Was consecrator of:

CO-CONSECRATORS

—assisted by:

Two other English bishops

—assisted by:

FRANCIS TURNER (consecrated, 1683, by Archbishop Sancroft³⁵ and two others)

THOMAS WHITE (consecrated, 1685, by Sancroft and two others)

—assisted by:

JOHN FALCONAR (consecrated 1709 by Rose and two others)

ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL (consecrated 1711 by Rose and two others)

³³Letter of Bishop Skinner, Oct. 10, 1784, to Bishop Petrie, arguing against the position of Bishop Charles Rose who was averse to consecrating Seabury. See, "Hist. Mag." III (1934), p. 238.

³⁴William Lloyd, deprived bishop of Norwich and nonjuror, is not to be confused with his namesake, William Lloyd (1627-1717), bishop of St. Asaph (1680), of Lichfield (1692), and of Worcester (1699). The latter was an ardent supporter of the revolution of 1688 and was never a nonjuror.

³⁵William Sancroft (b. Jan. 30, 1616/17—d. Nov. 24, 1693) was consecrated archbishop of Canterbury, January 27, 1678; deprived as a nonjuror, August 5, 1691.

JAMES GADDERAR³⁶
(b. 1655—d. Feb., 1733)
Consecrated Feb. 24, 1712/13

Was consecrator of:

THOMAS RATTRAY
(b. 1684—d. May 12, 1743)
Consecrated June 4, 1727

Was consecrator of:

WILLIAM FALCONAR
(b. circa 1708—d. 1784)
Consecrated Sept. 10, 1741

Was consecrator of:

ROBERT KILGOUR
(b. circa 1714—d. March, 1790)
Consecrated September 21, 1768

Was consecrator of:

SAMUEL SEABURY
(b. Nov. 30, 1729—Feb. 25, 1796)
Consecrated November 14, 1784

—assisted by:
ARTHUR MILLAR (consecrated 1718
by Rose and two others)
ANDREW CANT (consecrated 1722
by Fullarton and two others)

—assisted by:
ROBERT KEITH (consecrated 1727
by Gadderar and two others)
ROBERT WHITE (consecrated 1735
by Rattray and two others)

—assisted by:
JAMES RAIT (consecrated 1742 by
Rattray and two others)
JOHN ALEXANDER (consecrated
1743 by Keith and two others)

—assisted by:
ARTHUR PETRIE (consecrated 1776
by Wm Falconar and two others)
JOHN SKINNER (consecrated 1782
by Kilgour and two others)

Bishop Seabury was co-consecrator of *Thomas John Claggett* (Oct. 2, 1742—August 2, 1816), first Bishop of Maryland on September 17, 1792, and the first bishop to be consecrated in America for the Episcopal Church. This was the only consecration of a bishop in which Seabury participated. Bishop Claggett was co-consecrator in four: Robert Smith of South Carolina, Edward Bass of Massachusetts, Benjamin Moore of New York, and Samuel Parker of Massachusetts.

APPENDIX.—NO. III.

[From the Journal of the General Convention of 1789]

PAPERS RELATING TO THE SCOTS EPISCOPACY, AS CONNECTED WITH THE ENGLISH, AND THE CONSECRATION OF BISHOP SEABURY.

Extract from the Register of Archbishop Juxon, in the Library of his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, at Lambeth Palace.—Fol. 237.

³⁶See above, Footnote #19, as to why Gadderar is here shown as consecrator of Rattray.

"It appears that James Sharp was consecrated Archbishop of St. Andrew's—Andrew Fairfoull, Archbishop of Glasgow—Robert Leighton, Bishop of Doublenen (Dunblane)—and James Hamilton, Bishop of Galloway—on the 15th day of December, 1661, in St. Peter's Church, Westminster, by Gilbert, Bishop of London, Commissary to the Archbishop of Canterbury; and that the Right Rev. George, Bishop of Worcester, John, Bishop of Carlisle, and Hugh, Bishop of Landaff, were present and assisting."

Extracted this 3d day of June, 1789, by me,

WILLIAM DICKES, Secretary.

London, June 3d, 1789.

That the above is a true copy of an extract procured by order of Archbishop Moore, to be sent to Bishop Seabury, in Connecticut, is attested by us, Bishops of the Scottish Church, now in this place on business of importance to the said Church.

JOHN SKINNER, Bishop.

WILLIAM ABERNETHY DRUMMOND, Bishop.

JOHN STRAECHAN, Bishop.

A LIST OF THE CONSECRATION AND SUCCESSION OF SCOTS
BISHOPS SINCE THE REVOLUTION, 1688, UNDER WILLIAM
THE THIRD AS FAR AS THE CONSECRATION
OF BISHOP SEABURY IS CONCERNED.

1693. Feb. 23.³⁷ Dr. George Hicks, was consecrated Suffragan of Thetford, in the Bishop of Peterborough's chapel, in the parish of Enfield, by Dr. William Lloyd, Bishop of Norwich, Dr. Francis Turner, Bishop of Ely, and Dr. Thomas White, Bishop of Peterborough.

N. B. Dr. Lloyd, Dr. Turner, and Dr. White, were three of the English Bishops who were deprived at the revolution, by the civil Power, for not swearing allegiance to William the Third. They were also three of the Seven Bishops who had been sent to the Tower by James the Second, for refusing to order an illegal proclamation to be read in their dioceses.

1705. Jan. 25. Mr. John Sage, formerly one of the Ministers of Glasgow, and Mr. John Fullarton, formerly Minister of Paisley, were consecrated at Edinburgh, by John Paterson, Archbishop of Glasgow, Alexander Rose, Bishop of Edinburgh, and Robert Douglas, Bishop of Dunblane.

N. B. Archbishop Paterson, Bishop Rose, and Bishop Douglas, were deprived at the revolution, by the civil power, because they refused to swear allegiance to William the Third.

³⁷The original deed in the Episcopal Safe in Edinburgh is February 24, (St. Matthias' Day) 1693/94. See Broxap (Henry), "The Later Non-Jurors," page 349.

1709. April 28. Mr. John Falconar, Minister at Cairnbee, and Mr. Henry Chrystie, Minister at Kinross, were consecrated at Dundee, by Bishop Rose of Edinburgh, Bishop Douglas of Dunblane, and Bishop Sage.

1711. Aug. 25. The Honourable Archibald Campbell was consecrated at Dundee, by Bishop Rose of Edinburgh, Bishop Douglas of Dunblane, and Bishop Falconar.

1712.³⁸ Feb. 24. Mr. James Gadderar, formerly Minister at Kilmaurs, was consecrated at London, by Bishop Hicckes, Bishop Falconar, and Bishop Campbell.

1712.³⁹ Oct. 22. Mr. Arthur Millar, formerly Minister at Inveresk, and Mr. William Irvine, formerly Minister at Kirkmichael, in Carrick, were consecrated at Edinburgh, by Bishop Rose of Edinburgh, Bishop Fullarton, and Bishop Falconar.

After the Bishop of Edinburgh's death.

1722. Oct. 7.⁴⁰ Mr. Andrew Cant, formerly one of the Ministers of Edinburgh, and Mr. David Freebairn, formerly Minister of Dunning, were consecrated at Edinburgh, by Bishop Fullarton, Bishop Millar, and Bishop Irvine.

1727. June 4. Dr. Thomas Rattray, of Craighall, was consecrated at Edinburgh, by Bishop Gadderar, Bishop Millar, and Bishop Cant.

1727. June 18. Mr. William Dunbar, Minister at Cruden, and Mr. Robert Keith, Presbyter in Edinburgh, were consecrated at Edinburgh, by Bishop Gadderar, Bishop Millar, and Bishop Rattray.

N. B. They who were deprived of their Parishes at the revolution are, in this list called Ministers; but they who have not been parish Ministers under the civil establishment, are called Presbyters.

1736. June 24. Mr. Robert White, Presbyter at Cupar, was consecrated at Carsebank, near Forfar, by Bishop Rattray, Bishop Dunbar, and Bishop Keith.

1741. Sept. 10. Mr. William Falconar, Presbyter at Forres, was consecrated at Alloa, in Clacmannanshire, by Bishop Rattray, Bishop Keith, and Bishop White.

1742. Oct. 4. Mr. James Rait, Presbyter at Dundee, was consecrated at Edinburgh by Bishop Rattray, Bishop Keith, and Bishop White.

1743. Aug. 19. Mr. John Alexander, Presbyter at Alloa, in Clacmannanshire, was consecrated at Edinburgh, by Bishop Keith, Bishop White, Bishop Falconar, and Bishop Rait.

1747. July 17. Mr. Andrew Gerard, Presbyter in Aberdeen, was consecrated

³⁸1713 (*New Style*).

³⁹This date is certainly wrong. It should be 1718 according to Grub, Lawson, Stephen, etc. The consecration was necessitated by the death of Bishop Christie in 1718.

⁴⁰Should be October 17th, according to other authorities.

at Cupar, in Fife, by Bishop White, Bishop Falconar, Bishop Rait, and Bishop Alexander.

1759. Nov. 1. Mr. Henry Edgar was consecrated at Cupar, in Fife, by Bishop White, Bishop Falconar, Bishop Rait and Bishop Alexander, as co-adjutor to Bishop White, then Primus.

N. B. Anciently, no Bishop in Scotland had the stile of Archbishop, but one of them had a precedence, under the title of *Primus Scotiæ Episcopus*. And after the revolution they returned to their old stile, which they still retain, one of them being entitled Primus, to whom precedence is allowed, and deference paid in the Synod of Bishops.

1762. June 24. Mr. Robert Forbes was consecrated at Forfar, by Bishop Falconar, *Primus*, Bishop Alexander, and Bishop Gerard.

1768. Sept. 21. Mr. Robert Kilgour, Presbyter at Peterhead, was consecrated Bishop of Aberdeen, at Cupar, in Fife, by Bishop Falconar, Primus, Bishop Rait, and Bishop Alexander.

1777. Aug. 24. Mr. Charles Rose, Presbyter at Down, was consecrated Bishop of Dunblane, at Forfar, by Bishop Falconar, *Primus*, Bishop Rait, and Bishop Forbes.

1776. June 27. Mr. Arthur Petrie, Presbyter at Meikelfolla, was consecrated Bishop Co-adjutor at Dundee, by Bishop Falconar, *Primus*, Bishop Rait, Bishop Kilgour, and Bishop Rose, and appointed Bishop of Ross and Caithness, July 8th, 1777.

N. B. After the revolution, the Bishops in Scotland had no particular diocese, but managed their ecclesiastical affairs in one body as a College; but finding inconveniences in the mode, they took particular dioceses, which, though not exactly according to the limits of the dioceses under the former legal establishment, still retain their old names.

1778. Aug. 13. Mr. George Inness, Presbyter in Aberdeen, was consecrated Bishop of Brechen, at Alloa, by Bishop Falconar, *Primus*, Bishop Rose, and Bishop Petrie.

1782. Sept. 25. Mr. John Skinner, Presbyter in Aberdeen, was consecrated Bishop Co-adjutor, at Luthermuir, in the diocese of Brechen, by Bishop Kilgour, *Primus*, Bishop Rose, and Petrie.

The foregoing list is taken from an attested copy, in the possession of Bishop Seabury.

1784. Nov. 14. Dr. Samuel Seabury, Presbyter, from the State of Connecticut, in America, was consecrated Bishop at Aberdeen, by Bishop Kilgour, *Primus*, Bishop Petrie, and Bishop Skinner,—as, by the deed of consecration, as follows, viz.:

IN DEI NOMINE.—Amen.

Omnibus ubique Catholicis per Presentes pateat,

Nos, Robertum Kilgour, miseratione divina, Episcopum Aberdonien—Arthurum Petrie, Episcopum Rossen et Moravien—et Joannem Skinner, Episcopum Co-adjutorem; Mysteria Sacra Domini nostri Jesu Christi in Oratorio supradicti Joannis Skinner apud Aberdoniam celebrantes, Divini Numinis Præsidio fretos (presentibus tam e Clero, quam e Populo testibus idoneis) Samuelem Seabury, Doctorem Divinitatis, sacra Presbyteratus ordine jam decoratum, ac nobis præ Vitæ integritate, Morum probitate et Orthodoxia, commendatum, et ad docendum et regendum aptum et idoneum, ad sacrum et sublimem Episcopatus Ordinem promovisse, et rite ac canonice, secundum Morem et Ritus Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ, consecrasset, Die Novembris decimo quarto, Anno Æræ Christianæ Millesimo Septingentesimo Octagesimo Quarto.

In cujus Rei Testimonium, Instrumento huic, chirographis nostris prius munito) Sigiila nostra apponi mandavimus.

ROBERTUS KILGOUR, Episcopus, et Primus. (L. S.)

ARTHURUS PETRIE, Episcopus. (L. S.)

JOANNES SKINNER, Episcopus. (L. S.)

THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE CHURCH'S WORK FOR SEAMEN IN THE UNITED STATES

*By the Rev. Harold H. Kelley**

SEAMEN formed the first Prayer Book congregation in our land. For his shipmates of Sir Frances Drake's "Golden Hinde", Chaplain Francis Fletcher, priest of the Church of England, celebrated the Holy Communion, on or about St. John the Baptist's Day, June 24, 1579. He probably held other services also, all on the shore of what is now known as Drake's Bay, a few miles north of San Francisco, California, while from June 17 to July 23, 1579, their little exploring vessel underwent repairs.

This seamen's service is interestingly linked with our modern ministry to seamen through the second bishop of California, the late Dr. William Ford Nichols. A discerning historian, he studied the records of Fletcher's service as antedating the Jamestown, Virginia, service of 1607, which previously had been accepted as initiating American Episcopal Church history. To commemorate this, Bishop Nichols secured from his former Philadelphia parishioner, George W. Childs, the gift of the stone Prayer Book Cross. Erected in 1894, and visible from the Pacific Ocean, this towers 61 feet from a hill in San Francisco's Golden Gate Park. About that same time also he welcomed and fostered the Seamen's Institute in San Francisco and later started one in Honolulu. Also, he helped to organize a national Church program for seamen, becoming first president of the resultant Seamen's Church Institute of America, incorporated in 1920, and opening the "modern period" of coordination and expansion.

The ministry to seamen from colonial times on by the clergy of seaport parishes is of course recognized. The subject of this paper is the *early* history of institutional activities for seamen, in which field the Episcopal Church predominates.

Civilian seamen resemble barracked soldiers. They sign away certain freedoms temporarily; they enlist under a system, with its ranks, disciplines and drills; they must be formally discharged from duty or be classed as deserters; they work away from home. Special laws have necessarily developed affecting seamen, their employers

**Director of the Seamen's Church Institute of New York.*

and the public interest. These, together with the evolution of maritime unions and of constructive port religious and welfare agencies, have changed the status of seamen from that of virtual serfdom and social ostracism to a new and valued freedom and respect, with decent working conditions, fair pay and steadily improving harmony between them and their employers.

The Church's oldest port agency, and the largest in the world, is the Seamen's Church Institute of New York. This originated on March 6, 1834, as the Young Men's Auxiliary and Missionary Society, a subsidiary of the Episcopal City Mission Society, with the Rev. Benjamin I. Haight, rector of St. Peter's Church, New York City, as its first president. With fine zeal they sent missionaries abroad, to the Western states, then to the wilds of their own New York State. The newly organized Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Episcopal Church soon undertook the general missionary work, so the "Young Men" selected missionary work at home, domestic and foreign, among the thousands of merchant seamen crowding their city waterfront. These seamen knew but little of normal home life and friendship. Available lodgings were usually adjuncts of saloons, gambling houses or houses of worse "fame". Seamen, after long voyages, were the easy victims of unprincipled crimps and boarding masters. A Christian mission was therefore a Godsend to a waterfront almost devoid of special religious and welfare work.

In March 1842 the group was reorganized as "The Young Men's Church and Missionary Society for Seamen in the City and Port of New York", and on July 3, 1843 were fortunate in securing as their first chaplain the Reverend Benjamin Clark Cutler Parker, grandson of the second bishop of Massachusetts. Mr. Parker was steered to his new vocation while becalmed off Fall River, sailing from Boston to New York to attend the General Convention. Finding some fifty other ships in a like plight, he offered to hold services on Sunday for passengers and crew members in a nearby hotel. To this incident he credited his readiness to undertake seamen's work in New York, a work to which he devoted the remainder of his life.

A chapel, which also would serve sailordom as a welfare center, was immediately needed, and to save land expense was built on a pair of decked-over parallel barges. This "Floating Church of Our Saviour for Seamen" seating over 300, completed on February 14, 1844, was moored at the foot of Pike Street, on the East River, near the present Brooklyn Bridge, and was consecrated on February 20 by the bishop of New York, Dr. Benjamin T. Onderdonk. The chapel began as a branch of the Episcopal City Missionary Society, but soon, at the suggestion of the latter's leaders, the "Young Men" decided to become

independent and on April 12, 1844, were incorporated as the Protestant Episcopal Missionary Society for Seamen in the City and Port of New York, with the Reverend Smith Pyne, rector of Calvary Church, as president. Its object was to:

"Provide by building, purchase, hiring or otherwise so many floating and other churches for seamen, at different points in the city and port of New York, as they may deem proper, in which churches the seats shall be free; and to provide suitable clergymen, to act as missionaries in the said churches."

Services were held for seamen and nearby shore dwellers. As part of his pastoral duties, Chaplain Parker responded to various special requests from merchant seamen. Some asked him to care for their mail, others to accept money for safe-keeping, for permission to stow seabags in the vestryroom, all due primarily to absence from or lack of homes. Thus was pre-figured the programs and equipment of later decades.

Shipping in those days was almost entirely under sail. Officers were skilled and stern, but for the sailors before the mast the only training was by experience and hard knocks. Some went to sea to forget their troubles, many were shanghaied. Years at sea often unfitted men for work ashore. Chaplain Parker and his associates worked faithfully to bring some comfort into their lives. Many were Parker's tribulations and very different from those of churches ashore. The sexton, for example, was by necessity a trained boathand, for mooring lines must be watched as the tides changed, and the bilgewater regularly pumped from the hulls. Storms and passing ships rocked the boat, and occasionally it was rammed by a vessel adrift. One lugubrious report at a meeting of the Board of Managers stated that "last night the Chapel sank". The sexton was puzzled as to the reason and said that the amount of water in one of the hulls required only five minutes' pumping for removal. It is known, however, that heavy loads of snow on the roof of the chapel were a hazard and that on at least one occasion this had caused the sinking. But the chapel was always raised again to continue its useful mission to seamen.

Fund raising was difficult, and it was necessary to watch expenditures carefully. A resolution, for example, in the early minutes of the Board solemnly authorized the missionary to employ a boy to pump the organ at an expense not to exceed 25c per Sunday!

The effectiveness of the work on the East River proved the need of a similar work on the west side and in 1846 the Floating Church of the Holy Comforter, costing \$2,800, designed by Upjohn, the architect

of Trinity Church, was built and moored at the foot of Dey Street, where the Reverend Daniel Van Meter Johnson was chaplain until 1855. Pleas came from seamen for clean and inexpensive lodgings. Since the Society had no charter for conducting a lodging house, Chaplain Johnson and three laymen of the Board organized, as a private venture, and conducted until 1854 a home at No. 2 Carlyle Street.

Other problems developed, as for the decent burial of indigent seamen, and for this a plot in Evergreen Cemetery, Long Island, was given to the Society in 1851, and finally filled with graves. Later another plot was bought, Cedar Grove Cemetery, also on Long Island.

Activities were gradually extended and, in 1852, the Reverend E. R. Remington, as missionary-at-large, undertook new work at 31 Coenties slip. Services were conducted out-of-doors when the weather was clear, otherwise under canvas, and finally in a rented store. This station ministered largely to the crews and families living on the Erie Canal barges, a terminal for which was and is maintained at Coenties Slip. Chaplain Remington resigned in 1854 and was succeeded by the Rev. Robert J. Walker. He is credited with initiating hospital visiting and the pastoral care of sick seamen wherever found.

The growth of the port, the changing and improved conditions of the waterfront, effected at least in part by the Society's work for seamen necessitated enlarged facilities and a widened program, and in 1854 the State Legislature authorized the amendment of the charter as follows:

"It shall be lawful for said society to build, purchase, hire, take and hold one or more houses and lots, and the requisite furniture thereof, for the boarding, lodging and entertainment of seamen and boatmen in the city and port of New York, to an amount not exceeding the sum of one hundred thousand dollars, and to lease or demise the same."

This made possible the opening of lodgings directly under the Society, and particularly, in October, 1854, the opening of The New Sailors' Home at 338 Pearl Street at a cost of over \$22,000, with lodgings for seventy-five men, to replace the experimental house opened by Chaplain Johnson. This remained in use until 1893.

Chaplain Parker died suddenly in 1859 leaving a memory of faithful and loving, yet whimsical and poetic service to seamen. He was succeeded by a line of strikingly devoted chaplains, the Rev. Benjamin S. Huntington, 1859-61, the Rev. R. G. Arunnel, 1861-63, and the Rev. Robert W. Lewis, 1863-72, and advances continued. Records indicate the envisaging of a single large building ashore to unite all the activities, especially when in 1866 the old floating Chapel of Our

Saviour, no longer seaworthy, was condemned and sold, as was also the West Side chapel in 1868. However, in this latter year the house at 34 Pike Street was bought for \$13,000 and fitted up as a Mission House, the top floor providing a chaplain's residence. In 1868 a new floating Church of Our Saviour was built and opened for services at the foot of Pike Street, being consecrated a year later by Bishop Horatio Potter. This was in use until 1910 when it was towed to Staten Island and became, on land, All Saints' Church. On the West Side the Rev. Henry Floy Roberts officiated in temporary chapel rooms until 1879, and a year later land was bought at Houston and West Streets, on which a Mission House was built, to be replaced in 1888 by a handsome group of brick buildings, including the Church of the Holy Comforter, church house and rectory, through a generous \$50,000 legacy from William H. Vanderbilt, Esq. Here a very complete program served the thousands of seamen from the vessels, largely foreign, making fast at the new city docks. This plant remained in active use until 1913, the buildings being razed ten years later upon the purchase of the property for the extension of railroad freight tracks.

Other stations, some with lodgings, were operated to meet the needs of the growing sailordom and the increased variety of mariners due to the increase in steamers which were steadily displacing sail:

Sailors' Home, 52 Market Street	1894-1907
Battery Station, 1 State Street	1902-1913
Brooklyn Branch, 22 First Avenue	1904-1907
"The Breakwater Hotel," Brooklyn	1908-1913

The last could lodge 120 seamen, and was complete with a lunch counter, reading rooms, etc.

Throughout its history the Society included not only the leading clergy of New York, but some of the foremost lay people. Successive Board members readily represent a cross-section of New York's leadership. In the nineties these included Benoni Lockwood, Edmund L. Baylies and Augustus Johnson, who in a prophetic speech near the turn of the century outlined the consolidating of the society's many stations in one great, comprehensive and centrally located building. These men and their associates of the Board built solidly and superbly for the future when in 1895 they called Archibald R. Mansfield, a senior at the General Theological Seminary in New York and son of the rector at Suffern, to be chaplain of the Church of Our Saviour, and the East River Station. The waterfront was new to Mansfield, but to his active nature, his fertile initiative and his deep consecration,

all templd in a powerful six foot frame, the job appealed so compellingly that he gave up his studies, and on his 25th birthday, January 3, 1896, entered on his new work. His ordination to the diaconate followed in May, and he was advanced to the priesthood a year later. In 1899 he married Ella Louise Huntington and they made their home on the top floor of the Mission House on Pike Street for seven years until their growing family necessitated moving to Staten Island. Mrs. Mansfield shared fully and happily in the work.

Young Mansfield promptly caught the spirit of the waterfront ministry and sensed the need for eliminating the causes of New York's reputation as being "the worst waterfront in the world for seamen". He outguessed the crimps—defined in an old dictionary as "one who keeps a low lodging-house into which sailors and others are decoyed and then robbed"—by borrowing and improving on some of their own methods. Where they sent rowboats to meet incoming ships he outsped them with the steam-launch "Sentinel", bought in 1903, largely by the women of the newly organized Seamen's Benefit Society, headed by Miss Augusta de Peyster. Thus he notified crews of the safe lodging and comfortable recreation rooms in the several stations of his Society. Where the crimps doped men to send to ships against their will, collecting "blood-money", Mansfield agreed to furnish reliable and sober seamen at a moderate and proper fee. Aided by Augustus Johnson of the Board of Managers, he furthered legislation to eliminate crimps and to improve the working and living conditions of seamen. Notable as an example was that correcting the heavy loss of life on seagoing barges, due to the lack of lights, signals and guard rails for the small crews, and also limiting the tows of barges to three per tug.

Mansfield's ability justified his promotion in 1904 to be superintending chaplain of all the East Side Stations of the Society. His administrative headquarters were established at the Battery Station, which had been opened in 1902 at No. 1 State Street. Here also there was maintained the Society's employment office and a branch office of the British consulate.

The increasing success of the work and the crowded condition of all of the stations, together with the improved shore transportation facilities, emphasized the need of a single, great and centrally located Institute in which could be concentrated the activities of the eleven units which had been operated by the Society. To enable this, an Act was passed by the legislature in 1906 abbreviating the name to the "Seamen's Church Institute of New York", suggested by the scholarly Board member, Admiral Alfred T. Mahan, U. S. N., and in 1909

the maximum capital expenditure for buildings, etc., was increased from \$100,000 to \$6,000,000.

Under the leadership of Mr. Edmund L. Baylies, a prominent lawyer who was active also in the affairs of the Diocese of New York and with a wide business and social acquaintanceship, and of Dr. Mansfield—he was awarded his D. D. by his alma mater, St. Stephen's College, in 1915—an active campaign was conducted and funds were raised for the erection of a thirteen-story building at 25 South Street. This, at the hub of the harbor, was opened in 1913 with lodgings for 500 seamen, commissary, recreation rooms, baggage rooms and everything necessary for comprehensive shore service to seafaring men, and the beautiful Chapel of Our Saviour, thus continuing the original name. The stations still existing were sold to help finance the new structure.

In 1913 the constitution was revised to make the Bishop of New York, ex-officio, the honorary president of the Institute and to provide for a lay president. Mr. Baylies was then elected the first lay president, an office which he held until his death in 1931.

During the World War the new Institute, with an employed staff of over 150, was crowded with seamen. The Welfare Department was busy, and the Merchant Marine School, which had been established in 1916 was helping to train officers and men for the necessary expansion of the American Merchant Marine. Lodgings were in such demand that 300 extra beds were installed in the Auditorium and in every other available space, and it was soon recognized that the building must be doubled in size. A new campaign for funds was therefore undertaken. The organization for nearly a century had given a good account of its stewardship and had won staunch friends and contributors numbered by thousands. The fine response of these and of new subscribers made possible the purchase of adjoining lots and the construction of an annex, which was finally opened in 1929, doubling the lodgings to 1,600 and providing larger quarters for all activities, including a still more inspiring new Chapel of Our Saviour.

Dr. Mansfield died in 1934, completing thirty-eight years of ministry to seamen. The present building, representing with land and equipment a cost of about \$5,000,000, stands as a monument to the devotion of Mr. Baylies and Dr. Mansfield, to their associates and to the thousands who responded with their gifts, in order completely to change New York from the worst, to the best port in the world for merchant seamen.

THE SEAMEN'S CHURCH INSTITUTE OF PHILADELPHIA

The Churchmen's Missionary Society of Philadelphia was organized in 1847, and sent a delegation to New York the next year to confer with Chaplain Parker and other leaders and to inspect the floating church. The result was the commissioning of C. L. Dennington as architect, and within two months construction was started in Bordentown on the floating chapel of the Redeemer, similar in its lines to New York's. Completed on December 27, 1848, this was towed to the Dock Street Wharf, Philadelphia, and consecrated on January 11, 1849 by the Right Reverend Alonzo Potter, D. D., bishop of Pennsylvania. Chaplain Parker, invited to the exercises and asked to speak, proclaimed it to be the most beautiful floating church in the world, its interior surpassing its exterior.

Regular services were held and devoted work was done at the floating chapel until 1854, when it was set on land in Camden, New Jersey, as the Church of St. John.

During the following decades the Churchmen's Missionary Association continued its work first in a sail loft and then in a building erected for its own use on Catherine Street in South Philadelphia and later in a substantial stone Church of the Redeemer and parish hall at Front and Queen Streets, which was consecrated by the Rt. Rev. William Bacon Stevens, D. D., on January 5, 1879. A large part of the cost of this plant was provided by a gift from the estate of Charles Brewer of Pittsburgh, and the parish hall was named for him.

Here the Church of the Redeemer served as a parish church for the families of seamen as well as a mission to transient seamen from all over the world, until shifting population and changes in the Philadelphia waterfront created conditions which limited or changed its usefulness and the scope of its operations.

Through the interest and the leadership of the Rt. Rev. Philip M. Rhinelander, D. D., bishop of Pennsylvania, and the co-operation of the Rev. Percy R. Stockman, who was the rector of the neighboring Old Swedes' (Gloria Dei) Church and a member of the Board of the Missionary Association, it was agreed to enlarge the scope of the Churchmen's Missionary Association and to plan a community-wide enterprise that would provide more adequate quarters for merchant seamen, particularly American. The Rev. Dr. Archibald R. Mansfield, superintendent, and Mr. Edmund L. Baylies, president, of the Seamen's Church Institute of New York greatly aided the project through their long experience and their personal friendship with some of the leaders in the Philadelphia organization.

The Seamen's Church Institute of Philadelphia was organized out of the interest thus created, and on March 5, 1920, was incorporated. Interdenominational in its organization and in the composition of its board of managers, and non-sectarian in its relations with the seamen, in spirit and in purpose, the Institute became the successor of the work for seamen previously done by the Episcopal, Baptist, and the Methodist Churches. The bishop of Pennsylvania was made honorary president, ex-officio, and the Rev. Percy R. Stockton was appointed superintendent and chaplain. Other communions have also provided chaplains. The endowments of the older Churchmen's Missionary Association remained intact in care of the Church Foundation of the Diocese of Pennsylvania, the interest being paid to the Institute for the general purposes of its work. Property belonging to the Churchmen's Missionary Association in the district known as Port Richmond, near the waterfront of the Delaware River above Cramp's Shipyard, continued in use as a branch of the Institute.

The newly chartered corporation began its service to seamen by buying and refitting the city block including the old St. Alban's Hotel—appropriately named for an agency with Anglican traditions—at 201 Walnut Street, conveniently located near the docks, the United States Custom House, and in the heart of sailordom generally. Its first lodgers were received on All Saints' Day, November 1, 1920. Other institutes for seamen were studied, plans were drawn, and the cornerstone of the present five-story and very complete Institute, covering the entire city block, was laid by the bishop of Pennsylvania, Dr. Thomas James Garland, on November 5, 1924. In the following October the new building, which, with the land, cost about \$900,000, was opened for seamen. It includes dormitories and rooms for some 230 men, restaurant, offices, reading rooms, baggage room, a large auditorium, and the chapel. This chapel was made a memorial to William West Frazier, for fifty years a member of the board of managers of the Churchmen's Missionary Association, the church property of which has been sold and the proceeds devoted to the new building, particularly the chapel, and continued an old tradition and name, Chapel of the Redeemer.

Apart from the earnings from beds, commissary, baggage room, etc., the Institute is largely supported by the Community Fund of Philadelphia. Thus the Church's work for seamen in Philadelphia entered the "modern" period.

HARRIOTT PINCKNEY HOME FOR SEAMEN.

Although best known as a Church agency in the "modern period", the Harriott Pinckney Home for Seamen, in Charleston, South Carolina, has some interesting early roots.

About 1853 Miss Harriott Pinckney gave a corner of her garden, East Bay and Market Street, as a site for an Episcopal Church for seamen, and the Church of the Redeemer, a corporation, was formed.

Buildings on the ground were rented for the accumulation of a building fund, which finally reached \$50,000. After 1878 the Charleston Port Society, non-sectarian, united with the above corporation for the erection of the Church of the Redeemer and the Harriott Pinckney Home for Seamen. The Port Society had been organized in 1820 and in 1823 acquired the Mariners' Church, which was in use until destroyed by an earthquake in 1886.

It was specified that the rector of the church should be the superintendent of the Home, hence always a clergyman of the Episcopal Church. The bishop of South Carolina, Dr. Howe, was the chairman of the executive committee, under which the buildings were planned and erected. All of the important Protestant communions were represented on the board of managers. The present rector and superintendent, the Rev. Wallace Martin, took office in 1920.

BOSTON

In the port of Boston the Church's work for seamen has always been conducted under the Episcopal City Mission, and for a time two centers were maintained. The earlier station, Sailors' Haven, 46 Water Street, Charlestown, began in the interest of navy men as well as of merchant seamen, although the latter became the chief users of the building. In 1890 a few people from St. John's Episcopal Church, Charlestown, were conducting a quarterdeck service for the crew of the U. S. S. Wabash. The executive officer of the ship, gratified by the improvement in his men wrought by the ship services, joined with Mr. George B. Neal, one of the lay workers from St. John's, in renting rooms ashore at 46 Water Street, near the Charlestown Navy Yard gate in which the bluejackets, some of whom helped with contributions, could find recreation and friendship. Books and magazines were supplied by the church and a friend gave a cabinet organ. For this small beginning Mr. John Allan, an experienced Y. M. C. A. director, was engaged as superintendent. The Rev. F. B. Allen, superintendent of the Episcopal City Mission was im-

mediately interested, presided at some of the entertainments, and accepted the new Sailors' Haven as one of their units.

Meanwhile one of the blue-jackets who had particularly responded to the service on the U. S. S. Wabash, Stanton H. King, was singled out by John Allan as a potential leader of sailormen, and upon being granted a discharge from the navy, was sent by him to the Mt. Hermon School in Northfield, Massachusetts, for religious training. During vacations he assisted Mr. Allan, and in 1893 joined him on full time. Many large trans-Atlantic liners then docked in Boston and the Haven became a favorite resort for officers and men, benefitting by their talent in entertainment programs. Seamen on shipboard and in marine hospitals were visited. On Sunday afternoons a Bible class was conducted by Stanton King. In 1896 the Haven was enlarged but was soon overcrowded. John Allan died in 1899 and Mr. King succeeded as superintendent.

In 1903 Miss Marian Lawrence, (later Mrs. Harold Peabody), offered funds to enlarge again the concert hall, but it was decided to seek the larger sum requisite to the erection of a complete new Sailors' Haven, Mrs. Peabody successfully directing the campaign for \$50,000. Stanton King wrote "On March first all hands were called to unshackle the moorings, abandon the old Sailors' Haven and move into a temporary berth while the old building was being torn down and the new one erected."

On Monday evening, October 9, 1905, the new building was opened by Bishop Lawrence. The street floor is given wholly to the auditorium. On the large stage stands the foremast of a ship, fully rigged. The second floor provides offices, reading, recreation rooms and a "galley", while the top floor is given to dormitories and rooms, a new feature.

Stanton King impressed much of his own unique color on the Haven. His conversion on the "Wabash" was real. He benefitted by his studies, he grew spiritually as his Haven grew, yet to the end he remained a "sailorman". Bishop Lawrence said of him, "I have known no man his equal for manly, homely, salty eloquence, and at the same time so simple, and childlike in his faith." He gathered and trained his own staff of about a dozen employees and the Haven was a real haven to navy and merchant seamen alike.

Stanton King inherited from his old days of sail the ability to sing and lead in sea chanteys, to the rhythm of which anchors were weighed and sails raised. Some also he wrote. Upon America's entry into the World War in 1917, Mr. King was appointed Government "Chanteyman" to teach the old songs to the young men being trained for the new American merchant marine hurriedly built, and to instill in them

some of the spirit of the old days. King's whole life was devoted to Sailors' Haven, which he led far into the "modern" period, his death occurring November 10, 1939.

The other Church center for seamen was St. Mary's House for Sailors, Cottage and Marginal Street, East Boston. This was opened in 1891 by Mr. and Mrs. James Monroe Battles as a unit of the Episcopal City Mission, with the help of the Rev. F. B. Allen and Bishop Phillips Brooks. Within the year "St. Mary's Free Church for Sailors" was added, with the Rev. William T. Crocker as vicar, from 1891 to 1903. During the time that Boston was an important port of call for ocean liners, several clergymen assisted or were in charge for a time, such as the Rev. Charles P. Deems, the Rev. Arthur Ketchum, the Rev. Kenneth R. Forbes, 1910-17, and the Rev. William Packer.

Through the years, at both the Sailors' Haven and St. Mary's, students of the Episcopal Theological School in Cambridge assisted in concerts and in religious activities.

THE SEAMEN'S CHURCH INSTITUTE OF SAN FRANCISCO

San Francisco is unique as the first American port in which service to seamen was established under the Missions to Seamen of the Church of England. Further, it became the center from which branches or complete institutes were formed in many Pacific ports.

The Rev. James Fell, an assistant chaplain of the Mersey Seamen's Institute, Liverpool, was so distressed by the reports of seamen and apprentices as to the appalling waterfront conditions in San Francisco, and the annual loss of large numbers of apprentice boys, that, on short notice and as a venture of faith, he volunteered to go to San Francisco. In 1899, having returned to England, Mr. Fell wrote "British Merchant Seamen in San Francisco", a book with a triple and ultimately fulfilled purpose:

To win British financing for the Seamen's Institute, San Francisco,

To abolish unfair practices and the mistreatment of crews by many British captains and shipowners,

To make the manning of British ships attractive to British nationals.

He began work on February 2, 1893, partly financed from England. He found a ready friend in the bishop of California, Dr. Nichols, and canvassed shipowners and merchants for funds. In April he preached in St. Luke's Church, San Francisco, on the duty of the city toward the seafarers in port.

In May a small meeting of citizens was held at the Occidental Hotel, Bishop Nichols presiding, and a committee was formed for the opening of a Seamen's Institute. The upper floors of a three-story building at 33 Steuart Street near Market were rented at \$1,500 per year and opened June 3, and here the "Flying Angel" flag of the Missions to Seamen, well known to mariners throughout the world, proved a welcoming beacon to the British in particular, and to all other seafarers who cared to enter the hospitable halls.

The second floor was divided into several rooms and comfortably furnished, including billiard tables, bagatelle and other games. British and local newspapers, books and writing materials were always available. One room served as a chapel, until this was installed on the ground floor.

San Francisco at that time harbored mainly sailing vessels entering the Golden Gate after hazardous voyages of from one to six months and often times laying up from three months to a year awaiting cargo.

The long stretch at sea, usually the rounding of Cape Horn, with probable sickness and death among the crew, made any port a most welcome but tempting sight. Temptations multiplied with the long lay-ups so familiar to San Franciscans at that time. With cargo discharged the windships were shifted from the docks to anchorages in the bay. Here came the test of owners and masters. If honorable, they allowed their men pocket-money and reasonable shore liberty. Too often the captain, under orders from his owners, dishonorably withheld all money, and kept the men on board. At such times the crimps and boarding-house keepers were permitted on board and were encouraged through glittering promises of jobs elsewhere, or through brutal violence, to seduce the men away from the ships, thus saving wages and maintenance. This was called "running the men off the ships". These long lay-ups, on the other hand, gave chaplains opportunities for close pastoral friendships with the members of the crew, both in the Institute and by visits to the ships. Almost immediately good results began to show, particularly in the reduction of lost apprentices from sixty per year before Fell's arrival to but twelve. A variety of recreation was offered seamen of all grades, for apprentices and for officers. Weekly concerts were held, with volunteer talent from churches and other organizations, including many leading amateur and professional musicians. The visiting performers enjoyed themselves, gained a new idea of sailors as being respectable, and often were rewarded by good sailor solos and choruses, especially "chanteys", and by sports, including tugs-of-war. The prime diversion was holiday picnics to Golden Gate Park and Alameda, enjoyed by from 200 to 250 seamen. Cricket and football

were favorite games and at times teams from ships competed with local clubs.

Fell soon found himself a target for suspicion and attacks by the crimps, boarding masters and saloon keepers hard hit by the competition offered by his Institute. Seamen were encouraged to save their money, provision being made for its safe-keeping in nearby banks. As an evidence of his successful battle against crimps, Chaplain Fell mentions a number of British seamen walking past saloons and dance halls and placing in his hands \$6,500 in hard cash for safe-keeping or transmission home.

Not satisfied with caring only for the waterfront of San Francisco, the Institute spread across the bay to Oakland and up the bay to the great sugar and grain docks of Port Costa, Eckley and Crocket. Branches at these points were necessarily on a small scale under lay workers, and varied with cargo demands, until terminated by reduced shipping. Seamen in the great Federal Marine Hospital at the Presidio were regularly visited, where finally a chapel and a recreation hut were opened, and out of this grew a notable work, including occupational therapy officially approved and fostered by the Government.

According to the "Seafarer", the little magazine published by the San Francisco Institute in 1916, men from there finally "went and founded Missions at Portland, Oregon, Honolulu, and from thence it has spread to Callao, Iquique and other ports down the coasts, doing untold good." These "other ports" included Tacoma, Washington, and Los Angeles, California.

Fell remained at the helm until 1899, when he gave place to a remarkable succession of young English chaplains assigned from the world-girdling Missions to Seamen, in accordance with their policy of short terms, transfers to other ports, and promotions, as follows:

The Rev. S. Hewitt Fullerton	1899-
The Rev. H. W. L. O'Rorke	1900-1901
assisted by the Rev. A. B. L. Karney	
The Rev. A. B. L. Karney	1902-1903
The Rev. S. H. Wingfield-Digby	1904-1906
assisted by the Rev. McDonald Liebenrood,	
1904 and the Rev. H. G. Collison, 1905	
The Rev. Frank Stone	1906-1910
The Rev. Edgar Ealand	1911-1913
The Rev. M. Mullineux	1914-1916

Each made some special contribution to the Church's work in the seaport and all received the warmest sympathy and cooperation of Bishop Nichols and of the diocese.

In April 1906, a few weeks after Chaplain Stone's arrival, the Institute was reduced to ashes by the great fire and earthquake that devastated the city, but almost immediately was reopened in a small cabin on wheels. At the same time developments on an even larger scale than before were projected. Serious consideration was given to a floating Institute and toward this Bishop Nichols was given a decommissioned ferryboat, over which many remember his chuckling as being a bishop with a "navy". In 1907, however, a substantial two-story reinforced concrete building was erected ashore at 242 Steuart Street near Folsom, three blocks south of Market. On the first floor was the chapel and the large recreation and concert hall, and the office for mail, savings deposit and baggage storage. The front, for needed income, was rented as a sheet-metal shop. Mezzanines provided administration space. On the second floor was an innovation, sleeping quarters for seamen, competing with the old sailor boarding houses.

The work was carried on here with the same effectiveness as in the old building, although encumbered with a heavy debt. In 1914, under the last British chaplain, the Rev. Matthew Mullineux, the Institute was finally turned over to the diocese of California as American, and re-named Seamen's Church Institute of San Francisco.

In July 1916 the Rev. Charles P. Deems, assistant superintendent of the Seamen's Church Institute of New York, crossed the continent and became superintendent. Full of energy and fresh from the experience of sharing in the opening of the great new thirteen-story Institute in New York, he applied some of the fund raising system used there and soon cleared off much of the debt. He also brought about the amalgamation of the older San Francisco Port Society with the Institute. This interesting organization had been established in 1860 and its famous Mariner's Church, with the stern of a ship for a pulpit, had been located at the corner of Sacramento and Drum Streets until burned in the fire of 1906. Many of its trustees were added to the board of managers of the Institute. The enlarged society was incorporated in 1917.

Plans for a building about ten stories in height, to be located near the foot of Market Street, were progressing well until stopped in 1917 by the entry of the United States into the World War. Changing waterfront conditions, including the virtual disappearance of the old sailing vessels and the docking of most ships, and the shift of marine Union Halls and other centers of sailordom north of Market Street, soon left to one side the concrete Institute which had served well for ten years. It was therefore sold in 1919 and the furniture and other equipment moved to a vacant store at 58 Clay Street, leased for one year, and then indefinitely extended. The main floor space was con-

verted into a recreation and concert hall, with a chancel in a curtained recess at the inner end. The basement provided baggage storage, and mezzanines at the front and rear gave space for offices and a library. In these too cramped quarters the "modern" period was entered upon, bringing many discouragements not a part of this article. But the early history of "Fell of Frisco" and his successors is one of the great and prized traditions of the venerable missions to Seamen and of those familiar with the American program for seamen.

THE SEAMEN'S CHURCH INSTITUTE OF HONOLULU

As mentioned above, a number of branches and independent Institutes grew from the work in San Francisco. Among these was Honolulu, and here again Bishop Nichols was at the fore. In April 1902, four years after the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands to the United States, he visited the Islands by appointment of the Presiding Bishop, Dr. Thomas March Clark, to effect the transfer of the Church work there from Anglican to American status. During his stay as provisional bishop he took steps to organize a Seamen's Institute in Honolulu. Several lay people became interested, including Mrs. Sebree, wife of the American Admiral, and Mr. T. Clive Davies, a leading English business man. A board of managers was selected, including Mr. Davies, L. T. Peck, B. F. Marx, H. W. M. Mist and Ed Towse.

Because of the large English population in Honolulu and their important shipping and business interests, the new Institute became a unit of the Missions to Seamen and secured as superintendent one of their experienced lay workers, F. W. Everton. Quarters were rented and soon outgrown, and after the coming of the first American missionary bishop, Dr. Henry Bond Restarick, a large and excellent building, formerly a Sailors' Home, was secured. This provided lodgings for thirty seamen, reading and recreation rooms and a chapel. Ships in port were regularly visited, and at this "Cross-roads of the Pacific" seamen were welcomed from all countries.

Mr. Everton was succeeded by Charles F. Mant as superintendent, and the Institute grew steadily in its service to seamen, and as one of the important welfare agencies of the city.

NATIONAL CHURCH ORGANIZATION

The above seven agencies were sufficiently united through their common sponsorship under dioceses of the Episcopal Church, the mutual friendships among their boards and employees and finally through seamen passing from one Institute to another to engender a desire for a

closer affiliation and for national recognition by the Church as a whole.

As early as 1889 a commission was appointed by the General Convention to report on needs and methods in seamen's work, and the Convention in 1892, upon receiving this commission's report, referred the matter to the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society. No further formal action is recorded until the annual conference of the Eighth Missionary Department held in Los Angeles in 1904. Chaplain S. H. Wingfield Digby of the Institute in San Francisco offered a resolution urging that the Board of Missions make a more comprehensive and systematic provision for seamen's work. Because of this resolution Bishop Henry C. Potter of New York invited the bishops of dioceses in seaport cities to meet with him in Boston on October 20, 1904, just preceding the General Convention there, to consider the appointment of a general commission of the Church. The result was the appointment of a joint commission, consisting of three bishops, three presbyters and three laymen, for further cooperation to enter a report at the next General Convention.

Meetings were held in 1904, 1905 and 1906, out of which, together with correspondence conducted by the secretary, a report was made to the General Convention in Richmond, Virginia, in 1907, recommending the appointment of a central board for Church work among seamen. For conferences at this time the Rev. Archibald R. Mansfield and the Rev. Frank Stone, superintendents of the Institutes in New York and San Francisco, respectively, accepted invitations to be present. It was recommended that a central board for Church work among seamen, to be known as the Seamen's Church Institute of America and to consist of five bishops, five presbyters and five laymen, be organized under the direction of the Board of Missions, with provision for a study of the existing work, the possibilities of work in unserved ports, the financing of work for seamen and to consider other matters germane to seamen's work. The chairman was the bishop of New York, Dr. Potter, but because of his death in 1908 Bishop Nichols made the report to the Convention of 1910, outlining the studies which had been made in American work for seamen, likewise the Missions to Seamen of the Church of England. The Board of Missions, by resolution, was asked to proceed with the organization of seamen's work on a national scale.

At the General Convention in 1913 in New York City, Bishop Nichols presented the report to the Joint Board, urging the increasing importance of completing the organization on the lines previously suggested. The report stated that the Board of Missions by resolution had elected Bishop Nichols president of the board of the Seamen's Church Institute of America, and authorized him to take steps to effect

the complete organization, in accordance with the report of the Joint Commission of 1907. The report also stated that the Board of Missions would be unable to undertake the financial responsibility, nor would it be helped by contributions to the Institute and that, therefore, the latter should not be called or recognized as an auxiliary of the Board of Missions. The result was a resolution continuing the commission as the Board of Seamen's Church Institute of America, such a Board to effect its own organization and to fill vacancies, and naming seventeen initial members, the bishop of California continuing as chairman.

At the General Convention in 1916 in St. Louis, Mr. Edmund L. Baylies of the Board of Seamen's Church Institute of America, presented a resolution to the House of Deputies, stressing the importance of seamen's work on a national scale, outlining the consideration given to this project in the General Conventions beginning with that of 1889, and offered a resolution for the appointment of a Joint Board of the Seamen's Church Institute of America, the personnel being the same, except for the filling of one lay vacancy. The House approved and the Bishops concurred.

The meeting of the new Board was called for October 20, 1916, five being present, and Mr. Baylies presented a set of by-laws which had been prepared through conferences of himself, Bishop Nichols and Dr. Mansfield.

At the General Convention of 1919 in Detroit the completing of the organization was recorded and by resolution a "Joint Commission on Seamen's Work", consisting of twenty members, was appointed in substitution for the "Joint Board of the Seamen's Church Institute of America". This Joint Commission met on October 16, 1919 and elected the Bishop of California, Dr. Nichols, permanent chairman, and upon its report to the General Convention authorization was given for the incorporation of the Seamen's Church Institute of America. A certificate of incorporation under the laws of the State of New York was signed on June 10, 1920 and approved June 14, 1920. Bishop Nichols continued as president, and the Rev. Dr. Mansfield was chosen general superintendent.

The former executive secretary of the Joint Board, the Rev. George W. Davenport, was chosen general secretary of the new corporation, serving until 1920, when he became bishop of Easton. He was succeeded in turn by the Rev. George C. Gibbs, 1920-23, and the Rev. William T. Weston, 1923.

Thus in a national way the "modern period" was inaugurated. The seven previously described agencies then existing were affiliated, and steps were taken to coordinate all the port work. New organizations were founded as follows:

Seamen's Church Institute of Newport	1920
Seamen's Church Institute of Port Arthur	1920
Seamen's Church Institute of Los Angeles	1922
Seamen's Church Institute of Houston	1922
Seamen's Church Institute of New Orleans	1922
Seamen's Church Institute of Tampa	1923
Seamen's Church Institute of Mobile	1923
Seamen's Church Institute of Manila	1924
Chapel and Community House, U. S. Marine Hospital No. 9, Fort Stanton, N. M.	1923
Seamen's Church Institute of Stockton, California	1934

ERRATA [Vol. IX (June, 1940)]

Page 142: for "Mary Kent Babcock", read "Mary Kent Davey Babcock".
 Opposite page 142. First line from bottom,
 For "Glen Tilly" read "Glenn Tilley".

Page 145. Second line from bottom, read, "Episcopalians".

Opposite page 145 read "Rev. Nathaniel Fisher, A. M., Rector of St. Peter's Church."

Page 149. Thirteenth line from top: for "Arthur Winslow honorary Speaker",
 read "Arthur Onslow, Speaker of the Honourable House of Commons."

BOOK REVIEW

Inventory of the Church Records of Michigan. Prepared by the Historical Records Survey Project. Division of Professional and Service Projects. Work Projects Administration. Protestant Episcopal Bodies. Diocese of Michigan. Michigan State Administration Board—Sponsor. Michigan Historical Collection—Co-Sponsor. Detroit, Michigan. The Michigan Historical Records Survey Project. March 1940. Pp. 126.

The Works Project Administration has now added to its series of Historical Studies of the Episcopal Church this valuable survey of the diocese of Michigan covering every part of its manifold activities. The work is nothing short of monumental and its permanent value is enhanced by a full index. The preface states that "This inventory has been undertaken as a service to the clergy and officers of religious bodies and also for the student of social and religious history and laymen interested in the growth and development of religious bodies in this country". All these purposes have been accomplished. It will be of special interest to students of church development in what was once regarded as a frontier.

The story is more than outlined in the Historical Introduction. After a passing reference to the establishment of a Roman church in Detroit in 1701, and two abortive efforts to do a similar work for the Protestant population of the city, it proceeds to set forth the work of the Rev. Richard Fish Cadle who was appointed by the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society as a missionary to Detroit in 1824 when the city had 2,000 inhabitants, among whom were about 40 Episcopalians and "not more than" three or four communicants. The cornerstone of St. Paul's Church was laid by Bishop John Henry Hobart in 1827. As a result of Mr. Cadle's missionary labors work was begun at Ann Arbor in 1828 and four years later the diocese of Michigan was admitted into union with the General Convention. Pending the election of a bishop the Rt. Rev. C. P. McIlvaine, bishop of Ohio, was in charge. From that time on the development is outlined beginning with the episcopate of Bishop Samuel A. McCoskry (the first bishop) and continuing down to the present time under Bishop Creighton. Six pages are devoted to the establishment and work of diocesan institutions, and there is a full account of the history and work of diocesan missions including those now defunct. The history of the parishes begins with that of St. Paul's Cathedral (originally the first church in Detroit), and includes all the parishes in the diocese. The records of each parish are listed together with where they are kept—a salutary safeguard against loss.

The footnotes, including biographical sketches of the bishops and other clergy, together with some laymen, are full and accurate as is also the bibliography. There are a few typographical errors, but none of any importance. It may also be noted that work is now under way for a survey for the diocese of Western Michigan. The greatest credit is due to those who have compiled this survey.

E. CLOWES CHORLEY.

HISTORICAL MAGAZINE OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH

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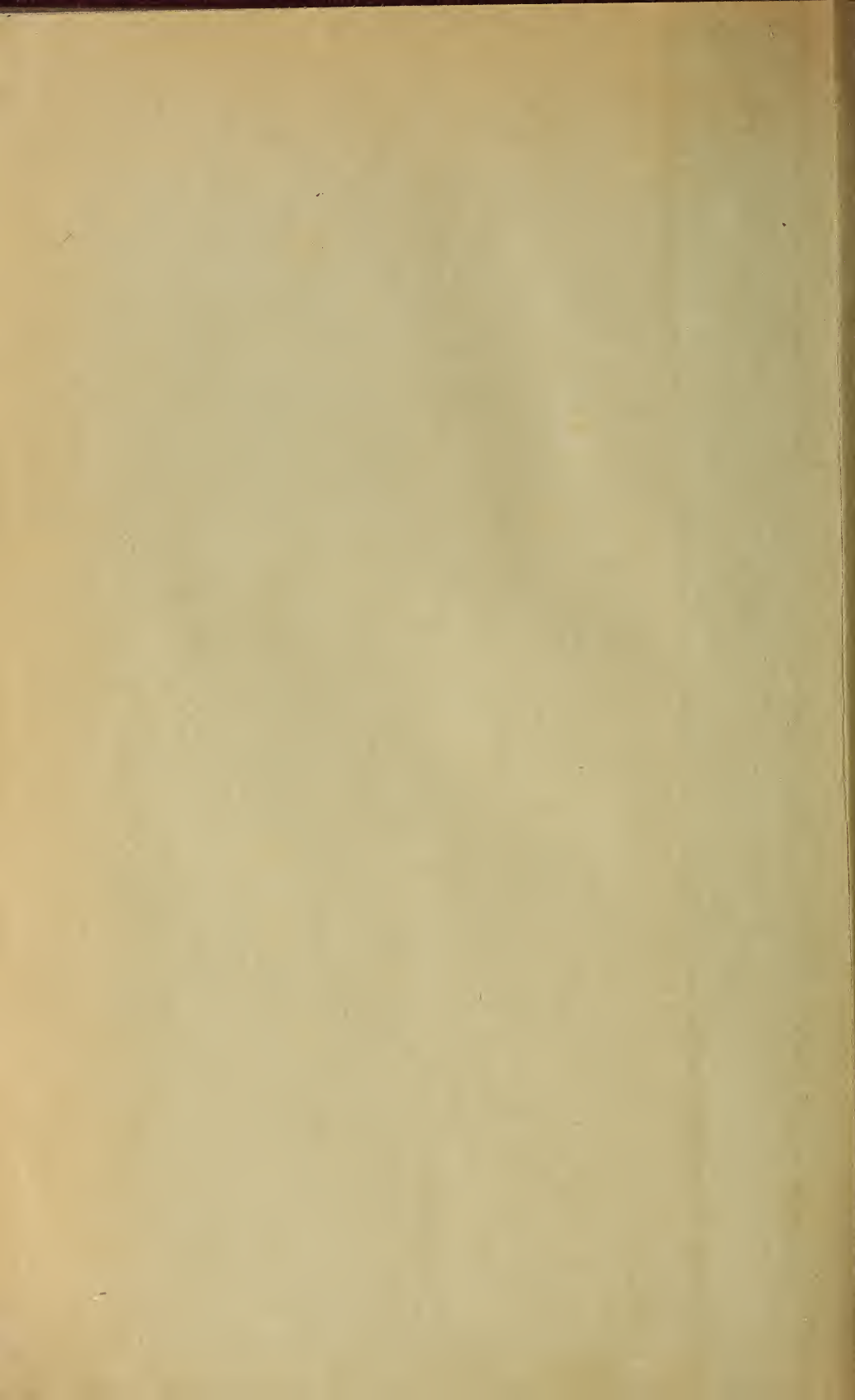
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